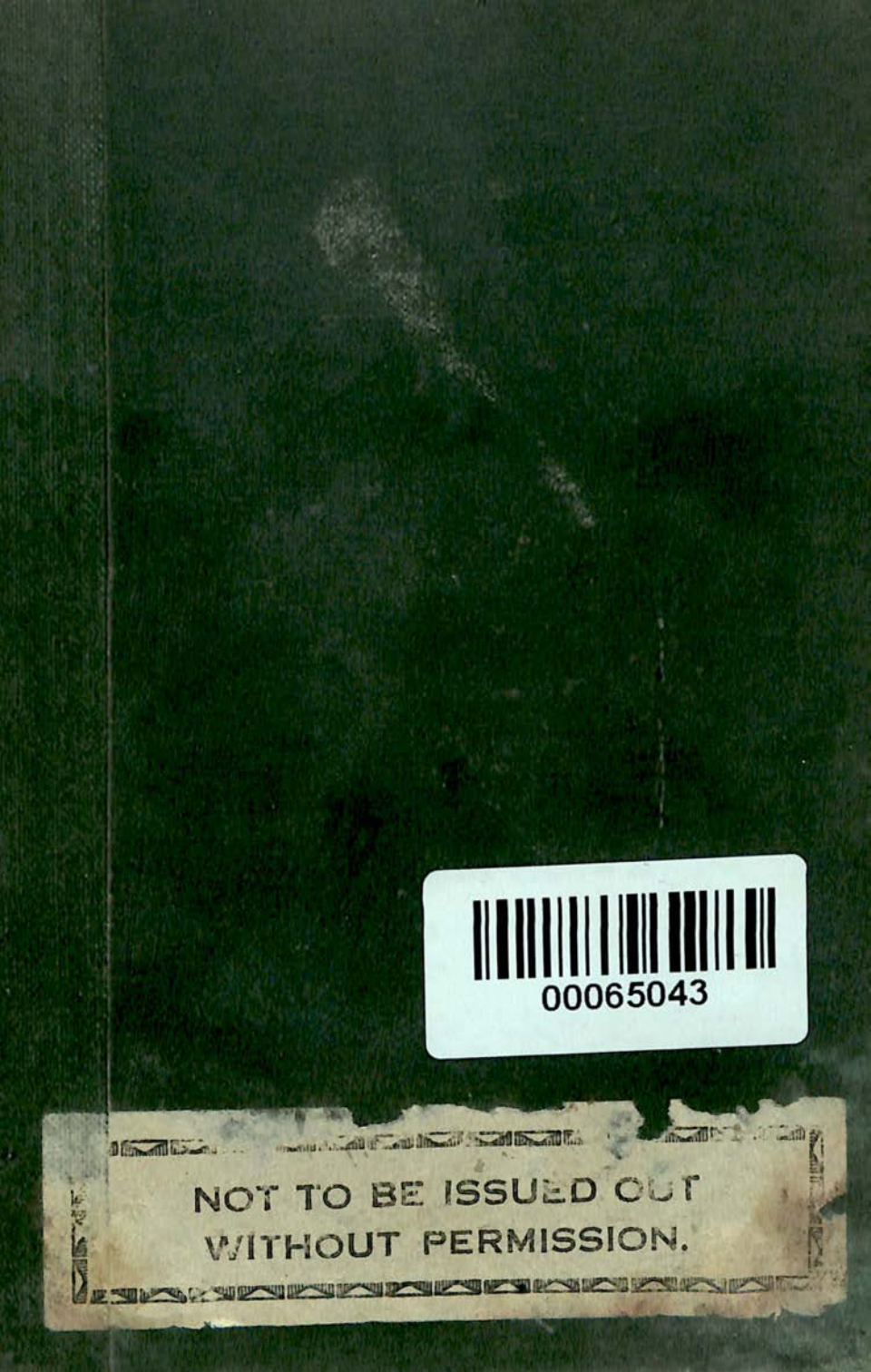
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ENGLISH WRITERS

AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

HENRY MORLEY

LL.D. EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

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VIII

FROM SURREY TO SPENSER

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CONTENTS.

Book VII.

FROM SURREY TO SPENSER.

CHAPTER I.—PRINCELY TRAINING.

	PAGE
Courtly Makers of Henry VIII.'s Reign: Period of Italian Influence	1, 2
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey	2
Old Nobility	3—5
Surrey's Father and Mother	5, 6
Childhood	6, 7
Surrey's Early Study of Italian: John Clerke	7, 8
Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond	9, 10
Study of French: John Palsgrave	10
"*L'esclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse*"	11, 12
Giles Dewes	13
John Palsgrave	14
The Training of Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond	15, 16
Surrey and Richmond at Windsor together	16, 17
Surrey married	18, 19
Surrey and Richmond at the Court of France	19, 20
Richmond married	20
Surrey's Home at Kenninghall	20, 21
Death of the Duke of Richmond	21

CHAPTER II.—SURREY AND WYATT.

	PAGE
Surrey married	22
Execution of Lord Rochford	22, 23
A Wedding at Holywell	23
A Death in the Tower	23, 24
The Pilgrimage of Grace	24, 25
Surrey's Imprisonment at Windsor	25
Poems to Geraldine	26, 27
Birth of Prince Edward	28
Surrey at Home	28, 29
Surrey at Court	29, 30
Surrey sent to the Fleet Prison	30, 31
Surrey sees Kelso burnt	31
The Birth of Mary Queen of Scots	31
Last Years of Sir Thomas Wyatt	31—35
Surrey again sent to the Fleet Prison	35, 36
Sir Francis Bryan...	36—38
Surrey before Landrecies	38
Surrey at Court	38
Mount Surrey	39
Hadrianus Junius	39
Surrey at the Siege of Montreuil	39, 40
Boulogne taken	40
Surrey at Montreuil rescued by Thomas Clere... ...	40, 41
End of the Campaign. Winter Quarters	41
Surrey made Governor of Boulogne	41—43
The Repulse at Saint-Etienne	43, 44
Surrey recalled from Boulogne. Dangers in England	44—47
Surrey's Trial and Execution	47, 48

CHAPTER III.—COURTLY MAKERS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Courtly Makers	49—51
Tottel's Miscellany	51
Nicholas Grimald	51, 52

PAGE

Italian Influence on Spanish Poetry :
Juan Boscan 53, 54
Garcilasso de Vega 54
Relation between English and Spanish Poets 54
Italian Influence in Portugal :
Saa de Miranda 55
Italian Influence on Poetry in France :
Clément Marot 55
Mellin de Saint-Gelais 55
Pierre de Ronsard 55
Joachim du Bellay 55
Wyatt's Translations from Mellin de Saint-Gelais ... 55
Wyatt's Translations from Serafino Cimino 57, 58
The Sonnet ... ... 58—60
Sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey 60, 61
Surrey's Blank Verse ... ... 61—63
Luigi Alamanni 63, 64
Wyatt's Satires 64
National Poetry : Effects of the Renaissance ... ... 64—67
Music and Song 67
King Henry VIII.'s Song Book 67
William Cornysshe 68
Thomas Fardyng and others 68
Henry VIII. as a Song Writer 69
Religious Poetry 70

CHAPTER IV.—MASQUES AND INTERLUDES.—RISE OF THE MODERN DRAMA.—THE FIRST ENGLISH COMEDY.

Disguisings. Masques ... ... 71—74
Interludes ... ... 74—76
John Heywood ... ... 76—80
John Heywood's "Play of Love" 76, 77
Heywood's "Play of the Weather" 77, 78

PAGE

Heywood's "Pardoner and the Frere," &c. 78
Heywood's "Four P's" 78, 79
Heywood's Dialogue on Wit and Folly... 79
Interlude of "The Four Elements" ... ... 80—82
John Bale 82, 83
Interlude of "Gentylnes and Nobylyte" 84
The "Celestina" 84, 85
"Thersytes" 85, 86
Rise of the Modern Drama ... ... 86—89
"Acolastus" ... ... 89—94
Palsgrave's "Ecphrasis on Acolastus" ... ... 94—98
Nicholas Udall 98, 99
The First English Comedy ... ... 99—101

CHAPTER V.—FROM HENRY THE EIGHTH'S REIGN ONWARD.—JOHN LELAND AND JOHN BALE.—NORTHERN REFORMERS.—SIR DAVID LINDSAY AND JOHN KNOX.

John Leland 102, 103
Leland's Plan of Work 104, 105
"*De Viris Illustribus*" 105, 106
Leland's "Itinerary" 106, 107
"Topography of Ancient Britain" 107
"Civil History" 107
"History of the Adjacent Isles" 107
"Of the British Nobility" 108
Last Years of Leland ... ... 108—110
Leland's "Collections" 110, 111
Published Writings of Leland 111, 112
Later Life and Writings of John Bale ... ... 112—114
Bale's "Summary of British Writers" ... ... 114—116
Bale's "Kyng Johan" ... ... 116—120
Coverdale's Psalms 121, 122
Versified Psalms: Sternhold and Hopkins 122, 123

PAGE
"Godly and Spiritual Songs" 123
The Wedderburns... ... ... 124, 125
"The Complaint of Scotland" ... ... 125—130
Sir David Lindsay 131
"The Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton" 131
John Knox... ... . 132—136
Lindsay's "Squire Meldrum" 136
Lindsay's "Monarchie" ... ... 136—138
The Last of Lindsay 138
John Knox... ... ... 139—141
Knox at Geneva 141, 142
Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet" 142

CHAPTER VI.—OF TROUBLES ABROAD AND OF ENGLISH REFORMERS AND SCHOLARS, WITH OTHER WRITERS, BEING THE END OF THE NARRATIVE FROM THE YEAR 1540 TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Spain and the Netherlands 143, 144
John Calvin ... ... 144—146
Hugh Latimer ... ... 146—149
Foreign Affairs 150, 151
The Book of Homilies 151, 152
Erasmus's Paraphrase. Nicholas Udall 153
King Edward's Service Books 154, 155
The Act of Uniformity 156
Nicholas Udall 157
John Foxe ... ... 158—160
John Cheke 160, 161
Thomas Smith 161, 162
John Cheke 162
Thomas Cranmer 162, 163
John Rogers 163

PAGE

Lawrence Saunders 164
John Bradford 164
John Hooper 165, 166
John Careless 166
Stephen Gardiner 167
Edmund Bonner 167
Roger Ascham 167
"Toxophilus" ... ... 168—170
Retrospect ... ... 170—175

CHAPTER VII. — ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH: JOHN KNOX, MATTHEW PARKER, AND OTHER CHURCH REFORMERS.

Accession of Elizabeth ... ... 176—178
John Knox 178, 179
"The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women" 179, 181
Aylmer's Reply to Knox 181
The Scottish Reformation ... ... 181—186
Reformation in England ... ... 186—189
Oppositions of Opinion ... ... 190—193
Matthew Parker ... ... 193—196
Parker's English Psalter, and Defence of Priests' Marriages 196
Revived Study of First-English 197
Edmund Guest 197, 198
John Jewel ... ... 198—201
Henry Cole 201, 202
Thomas Harding 202
John Foxe 203
The Book of Martyrs ... ... 203—205
The Saxon Gospels 205
The Geneva Bible 206, 207

PAGE

The Prayer Book 207
The High Court of Commissioners 207, 208
The Star Chamber 208
Questions of Ceremonial 208, 209
Miles Coverdale 209
Matthew Parker 209, 210
"*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*" 210
The Bishops' Bible" 210, 211

CHAPTER VIII.—FIRST YEARS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN: POEMS, PLAYS, AND TALES.

Tottel's Miscellany 212, 213
Nicholas Grimald 214
"The Paradise of Dainty Devices" ... ... 214—217
"A gorgious Gallery of gallant Inventions" 217, 218
Translations of Seneca ... ... 219—221
Translation of the Æneid 221
Translation of Ovid 222, 223
Church Psalmody 223
Thomas Norton 223, 224
Thomas Sackville 224
Players 225
The Earl of Leicester's Servants... 225
Court Entertainments 225, 226
Sackville and Norton's "Gorboduc" ... ... 226—236
The "Mirror for Magistrates" 237
Thomas Sackville... ... ... 237—239
William Baldwin and George Ferrers ... ... 239—241
John Higgins 241
Thomas Blennerhasset 241
Thomas Sackville... 241
Thomas Churchyard ... ... 242—244
Earliest Publications. "Davie Dycar's Dream" 244, 245

PAGE

Again to the Wars 245, 246
Churchyard's part in the "Mirror for Magistrates" 247—251
George Cavendish... ... ... 251, 252
George Cavendish's Life of Wolsey 252, 253
Thomas Churchyard 253, 254
War in the Netherlands ... ... 254—257
Insurrection in England 258
"Churchyard's Chips" 258, 259
"The Woeful Wars in Flanders"... 259
Frobisher's Voyage 260
Other "Chips" 260, 261
George Gascoigne... ... ... 261—263
Gascoigne's Plays: "The Supposes" 263, 264
"Jocasta" 264, 265
George Gascoigne... ... ... 265, 267
"*Dulce Bellum inexpertis*"... ... ... 267—270
Military Service ... ... 271—274
"A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres" 275, 276
"The Glass of Government" 276, 277
"Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth" 277
"Hemetes the Hermit" 277, 278
"The Steel Glass" ... ... 278—281
"The Complaint of Philomene" 281, 282
Other Works... ... ... 282, 283
Death of Gascoigne 283
George Whetstone 284, 285
Thomas Tusser 285, 286
"Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry" ... 286
George Turbervile 286, 287
Arthur Brooke 287
William Painter 288
William Fulke 288
William Painter 288
"The Palace of Pleasure" ... ... 289—293
Novels 293, 294
Geoffrey Fenton 294

PAGE

"Certain Tragical Discourses" 294
Other Translations 294
Guevara's Epistles 295
Edward Hellowes 295
Fenton's Translation of Guicciardini 295
Other Collections of Novels 295, 296
George Pettie 296
"A Pettie Palace of Pettie his Pleasures" ... 296, 297
Translation of Guazzo 297

CHAPTER IX.—ASCHAM'S "SCHOOLMASTER" AND LYLY'S "EUPHUES."

Roger Ascham ... ... 298—300
"The Schoolmaster" ... ... 300—305
John Lyly ... ... 305—307
"Euphues" ... ... 307—315
"Euphues and his England" 315, 316
Euphuism ... ... 316—322

CHAPTER X.—CHURCH MILITANT.

Church Reform: Articles of Faith 323
Rites and Ceremonies 323, 324
Church Catechism... 324
The Question of Apparel 324
The First Nonconformists 324, 325
Miles Coverdale 325
Thomas Cartwright 326, 327
John Whitgift 327, 328
The Controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift ... 328—331
Robert Browne 331, 332
Edmund Grindal ... ... 332—334

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.—THE LAST YEARS OF JOHN KNOX.—GEORGE BUCHANAN.

John Knox 335, 336
"History of the Reformation in Scotland" ... 336—338
Other Writings 338, 339
George Buchanan 339, 340
Satire on the Franciscans ... ... 340—342
Buchanan at Bordeaux 342
Latin Plays 342
"Jephthes" ... ... 342—344
"Baptistes" 345, 346
Buchanan in Portugal 346, 347
The Psalms in Latin Verse 347, 348
"*De Sphæra*" 348
Occasional Latin Verses 349
Pieces in Scottish Dialect 349, 350
Tutor to James VI. 350
"*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*" 350, 351
"History of Scotland" 351, 352
James Melvill's Diary 352, 353
James Melvil's Memoirs ... ... 354—356

CHAPTER XII.—CHRONICLES AND PLAYS.

Richard Grafton ... ... 357—359
John Stow 359
"Summary of English Chronicles" ... ... 360—362
Grafton's "Abridgments of the Chronicles" 362
—— "Manual" 362, 363
—— "Chronicle at Large" 363
Stow's "Annals" 363
Matthew Parker and John Stow... 363
Raphael Holinshed ... ... 363—365

PAGE

Edmund Campion... 365
Richard Stanyhurst 366
William Harrison 366
"Description of England"... ... ... 367, 368
Holinshed's Chronicle 368, 369
William Camden 370
Thomas Wilson 370
"Arte of Logique" 370
Memoir of Henry and Charles Brandon 371
"Arte of Retorique" 371
Oration at the Funeral of Edward Courtenay ... 371, 372
Translation from Demosthenes 372
Rise of the English Drama 373, 374
The Play in the Inn Yard ... ... 374—376
"Misogonus" 376, 377
"Cambyses" 377, 378
"Damon and Pythias" 378, 379
The Shaving of Grim the Collier ... ... 379—381
What is a Play? 381, 382
"Gammer Gurton's Needle" 382, 384
"Palamon and Arcyte" 384
Plays at Court 384, 385
First Patent to the Earl of Leicester's Players 385, 386
Opposition by the Mayor and Corporation of London 386, 387
Escape of the Players 387, 388
The first London Theatres 388, 389
Stephen Gosson 389, 390
"The School of Abuse" ... ... 390—393

CHAPTER XIII.—IN THE YOUNG DAYS OF SIDNEY AND RALEIGH.

Philip Sidney 394, 395
Fulke Greville 395
Philip Sidney 395, 396

PAGE

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew ... ... 396—400
The Struggle in the Netherlands ... ... 397—399
Walter Raleigh 400
Philip Sidney 400, 401
Raleigh in 1579 ... ... 401, 402
Philip Sidney 402, 403
"The Lady of May" 403, 404
Sidney in 1579 404

INDEX ... ... 405—412
LAST LEAVES ... ... 413—416

ENGLISH WRITERS.

BOOK VII.

From Surrey to Spenser.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCELY TRAINING.

THE Garland of Laurel, embroidered for adornment of the robe worn by John Skelton as Poet Laureate, was acknowledged in verses of compliment to the ladies at Sheriff Hutton,—the Countess of Surrey who devised it, Elizabeth and Muriel Howard, Lady Ann Dacre, and others who had plied their needles on it with a friendly care.* Skelton's poem on the Garland was written, probably, about the year 1520. His patroness was then mother of two daughters, and of a son, her youngest child, some two years old, through whom she would be bound more closely to the history of English Literature. That first-born boy, the third of her five children, was Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Surrey. He lived to be a poet, of whom in Elizabeth's reign a writer on "The Arte of English Poesie" † expressed the opinion of his time, when he recorded that in the

Courtly Makers of Henry VIII.'s Reign. Period of Italian Influence.

* "E. W." vii. 191, 192.

† George Puttenham, whose book appeared in 1589.

latter end of King Henry VIII.'s reign "sprung up a new company of Courtly Makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder and Henry Earl of Surrey were the two chieftains, who, having travelled into Italy"—but Surrey never was in Italy—"and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian Poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar Poesie from that it had been before, and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our English metre and style." Italian influence in Chaucer's time was no more than the influence of one great writer upon another. In the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. it was the more general influence of Italian upon English fashions—that is to say, of the Courts of Italy upon the Court of England. We may date, therefore, from Wyatt and Surrey the beginning of a period of Italian influence on English Literature that was subject to some changes, but remained unbroken during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. It was not fairly superseded by the influence of France until a little after the year 1660.

Skelton's "Garland of Laurel" includes mention of the morality play, "Magnificence," as a work of his already written; but Skelton's "Magnificence"* refers to a liberal King Louis of France as dead. That must have been Louis XII., who died in 1515, for Louis XI., who died in 1483, was the reverse of liberal. We may say, then, that Skelton's poem of thanks for the garland probably was written in or about the year 1520. If so, Henry Howard, born late in January or early in February, 1518, was a nursling while his mother worked on that embroidered wreath, for tribute of the laurel to good verse. He was in his eleventh year when Skelton died.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

Henry Howard was executed at the end of Henry VIII.'s

* "E. W." vii. 181, 182.

reign. He was the king's last victim; a guiltless victim to his pride of birth, and feud between the old and new nobility. He was destroyed for better security of power to the Seymours, when Jane Seymour's son should become king. His pride had its main root in the marriage of an ancestor, Sir Robert Howard, with a lady doubly royal, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Margaret Mowbray was descended on the mother's side from Edward I., through his first wife, Eleanor of Castile. Margaret Mowbray was descended on the father's side from Edward I. through Margaret of France, his second wife. The son and heir of Sir Robert, by his marriage with Margaret Mowbray, was a John Howard, created Baron in 1470. He inherited from his mother the right to an addition to his armorial bearings of the arms of Edward the Confessor. Those arms Richard II. had adopted for himself out of regard to his patron Saint Edward, and had granted to some of his favourites, among whom was Sir Thomas Mowbray. From him that right descended to the Howards, who used the addition without question until Henry Howard's use of it was turned to his destruction.

Old Nobility.

John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Earl also of Surrey and Warren, died in 1475 without male heir, and in 1483 the Mowbray line entirely failed. Its barony then fell into abeyance between the descendants of the twice royal blooded Margaret, Sir Robert Howard's wife, and of her equally exalted sister Isabel, who had married James Baron Berkeley, a main founder of the fortunes of the Berkeley family. Richard III. made the division of the Mowbray barony between two families that he might increase the number of his friends. So it was that, in the year 1483, John Howard came to be created Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England. His son, Thomas Howard, was at the same time made Earl of Surrey.

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, fell in the battle of Bosworth as a combatant for Richard III. His peerage, therefore, became forfeit to the Crown. His son Thomas was deprived of his earldom, and was sent by Henry VII. to the Tower. But he was released next year, in 1486, and restored to his rank in 1489. He rose high in favour with King Henry VII., and became his Lord High Treasurer. Henry VIII. made him Earl Marshal. This Thomas Howard was the Earl of Surrey who had chief command in the war on the Scottish border, ended on the 9th of September, 1513, by the victory at Flodden. In reward for Flodden, the Dukedom of Norfolk was restored to the Howard family. Henry VIII. also granted to that family the right to add to its heraldic blazonry the upper part of the arms of Scotland, including the crown, which was then an open one, not closed like the crown of the Tudors. Thomas Howard, grandfather to the poet, having thus been made Duke of Norfolk, transferred, in February, 1514, his title of earl to his eldest son. This was another Thomas Howard, and the poet's father.

Thomas Howard, the grandfather, the Surrey of the field of Flodden, was twice married, and each of his wives brought him a family. By his first wife, in addition to that Thomas who was the poet's father, he had two sons. One of them was Admiral Sir Edward Howard, who was killed in action at Brest in 1513, and whom Alexander Barclay set in the Tower of Virtue and Honour at the close of one of his eclogues.* The other son was Edmund, who was father of one of Henry VIII.'s queens, Catherine Howard. Catherine Howard, therefore, was first cousin to the poet. Full sisters of the poet's father were Elizabeth and Muriel Howard, of whom Elizabeth married Thomas Boleyn, and became mother of George Boleyn, Lord Rochford. Therefore George Boleyn also was first cousin to the poet.

* "E. W." vii. 104, 105.

Elizabeth's sister Muriel was first married to John Grey, Viscount Lisle, and had for her second husband Sir Thomas Knyvet; but she died in 1512, six years before Henry Howard's birth. The Muriel Howard who worked at the embroidery of Skelton's Garland of Laurel was a sister of the poet's, although the Elizabeth named with her may have been the aunt who married Thomas Boleyn. The poet's grandfather, moreover, by second marriage gave to his eldest son two half-brothers and also four half-sisters, who were severally married to the Earls of Oxford, Derby, Sussex, and Bridgewater.

Without more chronicle of all the blood of all the Howards, let us now look only to the Thomas Howard who became Earl of Surrey in June, 1514, the year after Flodden, and whose first son, the poet, was born three or four years later.

In those days there was a very active policy of intermarriage for the strengthening of families, and it had little to do with any individual preference of this man for that woman. Henry Howard's father and mother had not married for love, nor did the intimacy of a loyal marriage, out of which love often sprang up in such cases, bind them to each other; for the husband was disloyal to the wife, and the wife bitterly resented his disloyalty.

Surrey's father and mother.

Before he became Earl of Surrey, Thomas Howard had been married to the Lady Anne Plantagenet, who died in 1511. The only duke in England at that time was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, descended on his father's side from Edward III. He was in favour with the king, wealthy, and the man highest in station next the throne. Lord Thomas Howard asked for the hand of Elizabeth Stafford, the duke's eldest daughter. She was engaged then by choice of affection to Ralph Nevill, grandson of the Earl of Westmorland. But that was nothing. Thomas Howard,

refusing the duke's offer of a younger daughter, persisted in his suit for the Lady Elizabeth; his father's high position in the State made it seem unwise to refuse alliance, and in 1512 Lord Thomas Howard had his way. He was married to Lady Elizabeth Stafford; and her lover, Ralph Nevill, was transferred to her younger sister, Catherine. Two years afterwards Thomas Howard and his wife Elizabeth became Earl and Countess of Surrey. Three daughters and two sons were born of their marriage. First came two daughters, Muriel and Catherine, then Henry Howard. The other two were Thomas, the poet's younger brother, and the youngest of the daughters, Mary.

Childhood.

Inscription on a portrait of Henry Howard at Arundel Castle * tells us that he lived till his twenty-ninth year. His death was on the nineteenth of January, 1547. This would give 1518 for his birth year. He was contracted in marriage as soon as possible, and that would be when he completed the age of fourteen. The date of his contract of marriage was the thirteenth of February, 1532, which would make the date of his birth not later than the thirteenth of February, 1518, and not many weeks earlier. He may have been born at Kenninghall, in Norfolk, for he was called in public documents Lord Henry Howard of Kenninghall, perhaps as John of Gaunt, Lionel of Antwerp, Bolingbroke, and others were named from the places of their birth.

In 1521 Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, his mother's father, was beheaded, and his father's father, as Earl Marshal, had been required by Henry VIII. to preside over the Court that sentenced him. The honours of the attainted duke were forfeited, and five manors of his were given to the submissive Earl Marshal. On the twenty-first of May, 1524, when Henry Howard was a child of six, by the death of his other grandfather, his father became Duke

* *Sat superest. Ætatis xxix.*

of Norfolk, and he, as elder son of the new duke, became Earl of Surrey. In what follows we shall speak of no Earl of Surrey but Henry Howard the poet, and of no Duke and Duchess of Norfolk but the poet's father and mother, who attained that rank in May, 1524.

The earldom was but a courtesy title, to which no possessions were attached, but the new duke was the richer by some inheritances, and added two houses in London to his country mansions at Kenninghall in Norfolk, at Stoke Hall in Suffolk, at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and elsewhere.

The Earl of Surrey's mother was a woman of high spirit, with a sense of honour that gave rise to passionate resentment of her husband's infidelity when he became enamoured of an Elizabeth Holland, who had some charge of his daughters in the nursery. But the Earl of Surrey was sixteen before the violence of constant quarrelling between his parents had brought about their separation. As a child, the boy had lived with his mother in one or other of the country houses, from which his father usually was absent upon the king's business in France, Ireland, Scotland, or at Court.

Surrey's tutor was John Clerke, an Oxford scholar who had studied in Italy with Richard Pace, and had there shared Pace's lodging as his most familiar friend. Clerke came back to England not only a good Latin scholar, but also with sound knowledge of French and Italian. The Duke of Norfolk found him valuable as secretary while employing him as tutor to his son, and it was from Clerke, no doubt, that the Earl of Surrey had in early youth that training in the Italian language, and help to the study of its literature, which enabled him in after years to shape his own work on Italian models. In 1545 John Clerke displayed his skill as a linguist by publishing in four languages—Latin, English, Italian, and French—a little work upon the "Resurrection of the Dead,"

Surrey's early study of Italian: John Clerke.

which he dedicated to the Earl of Surrey.* He wrote also on the inflexions of French and Italian, and translated out of French in 1543 a Treatise on Nobility dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk; to whom also he dedicated in 1546 a work published in that year "Of Predestination, Free-will, Faith, Justification, Good Works, and Christian Liberty." His opposition to the doctrines of the Church Reformers caused John Clerke, in the reign of Edward VI., to be imprisoned in the Tower, where he hanged himself with his girdle on the tenth of May, in the year 1552. This was the man through whom the skies of Italy first shone into the mind of the young Earl of Surrey.

Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond.

Henry VIII. had one son born out of wedlock, with whom, during some part of his boyhood, Surrey lived in companionship at Windsor and in Paris, and shared princely training. "You shall understand," Edward Hall wrote in his "Chronicle," "the King in his fresh youth was in the chains of love with a fair damsel called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to Sir John Blount, knight" [of Kinlet, in Shropshire], "which damsel in singing, dancing, and all goodly pastimes exceeded all other, by the which goodly pastimes she won the king's heart; and she again shewed him such favour that by him she bare a goodly man-child of beauty like to the father and mother." He was born on the eighteenth of June, 1519, in the Prior's House, at Blackmore, in Essex. Blackmore was one of the king's pleasure houses, known also as Jericho, and when his majesty was lost out of the Court the saying among the courtiers is said to have been that he was gone to Jericho. So, also, they may have wished him at Jericho when he made his presence too severely felt.† Within three or four years after the birth of the king's bastard son, who was named Henry after his father—Henry Fitz Roy—and to

* De Mortuorum Resurrectione, et Extremo Judicio, 1545 and 1547.

† Morant's "History of Essex."

whom Wolsey was godfather, his mother, Elizabeth Blount, was married to Gilbert, son of Sir George Taylboys, of Kyme, in Lincolnshire. He died in 1530, and his widow took in second marriage a husband much younger than herself, Edward Lord Clinton, afterwards first Earl of Lincoln. Of the two boys, who became companions in study, the Earl of Surrey had a wretched home, and the king's son was homeless. In June, 1525, when six years old, young Henry Fitz Roy, then the king's only son, whom he loved much, and vaguely regarded as a possible successor to the crown, was elected to the Order of the Garter. In the same year Henry VIII. created him a royal duke, as Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and made him Earl of Nottingham, with a grant of many castles, lordships, and hereditaments that had been attached to those titles. On the sixteenth of July in the same year the child was appointed Lord High Admiral, and eight days later he was made Warden General of the Marches towards Scotland. The child then was sent north with a great retinue, to take up his residence for the next five years at Sheriff Hutton Castle, and sometimes, in winter, at the king's castle of Pontefract. He was kept in royal state as nominal head of the Council of the North, which carried out the directions of Wolsey. In that nursery the boy learnt his lessons, and before long feud arose between his conscientious teachers and his flatterers. His first tutor, entered in the household list as Schoolmaster, was John Palsgrave. The king's liberal-minded physician, Dr. Butts (who appears in Shakespeare's play of *King Henry VIII.*), was also attached to the little Court at Sheriff Hutton, for especial care over the child's health, with addition of twenty pounds to the salary he had of a hundred as Court physician. Soon afterwards he received the knighthood by which he became Sir William Butts.

John Palsgrave, to whom reference has already been

made when we were speaking of Alexander Barclay's French Grammar,* was also a man especially distinguished in his calling. He was a London-born teacher of French, to whom France herself could not produce an equal. Palsgrave was born about the year 1480, educated in London, Cambridge, and for several years in Paris, where he graduated as Master of Arts, and became so excellent a French scholar that he was appointed by Henry VIII. to teach French to his sister Mary, in preparation for her marriage to King Louis XII. of France. There is an entry in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII. for January 6th, 1513-4, of payment "To Mr. John Palsgrave, clerk, Scolemaster to my Lady Princes, for his wages for one hole yere, £6 13s. 4d." † John Palsgrave remained attached to the Princess Mary's service in France, and when Louis XII. died, three months after his marriage to her, Palsgrave came back to England with his pupil and her new husband, the Earl of Suffolk. Then Palsgrave taught French at Court, and in 1514 he obtained the prebend of Portpoole, in St. Paul's Cathedral. While he taught, John Palsgrave was embodying his method of instruction in a book. Upon this book he was employed, and he had begun to print it, when he went with the king's bastard son to Sheriff Hutton. He went in 1525, and not only as teacher of French, for we learn from his book that he "had in commandment by our most redoubted sovereign to instruct the Duke of Richmond's grace in the Latin tongue."

Study of French: John Palsgrave.

There is an extant contract made by John Palsgrave with Richard Pynson ‡ for the publication of his book,

* "E. W." vii. 111.

† Brit. Mus., Additional MSS., 7,100.

‡ Abstracted in Professor Brewer's "Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.," Vol. III., p. 1,522. No. 3,680 of Part 2. The full text was given by Dr. F. J. Furnivall in a paper presented to the Philo-

entitled, *L'esclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse, composé par Maistre Jehan Palsgrave, Angloys, Natyf de Londres, et Gradué de Paris.*" Palsgrave took for model the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza.* His division of the work, printed by Pynson, was into two sections, the first of Pronunciation, the second of the Nine Parts of Speech.

L'esclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse.

In his contract with Pynson, Palsgrave made special provision that the printer should "suffer the saide John Palsgrave, or his assignes, to correct the proff or euer that he, for any hast, print the hoole nomber off any off the said leuys." The first printers were usually the sole correctors of their proofs, and it was probably under a special sense of the importance of securing accuracy in the French words of his text that Palsgrave took precaution against the putting to press of any leaf of his book until he himself had passed the proof. Ariosto did not correct proofs of the first edition of his *Orlando*, although it had been written with minutest care, and when he saw the published book he cried out that the printer had assassinated him.

Another point upon which Palsgrave insisted was, that no one should be allowed to buy a copy of his book without his own special consent. He published for his friends and pupils, and he was unwilling that anyone should, by buying his book, be able to save himself the costs of personal instruction. There is a letter from a correspondent at Antwerp to Thomas Cromwell, asking for his interest towards getting a copy of Palsgrave's "Esclaircissement" to learn by; because, says the correspondent, "I perceive that Palsgrave hath willed Pynson to sell none of them to any other person than to such as he shall command to have

logical Society in 1868: "Pynson's Contracts with Horman for his *Vulgaria* and Palsgrave for his *L'esclaircissement*, with Pynson's Letter of Denization."

* "E. W." vii. 15, 16, 17.

them, lest his profit by teaching the French tongue might be minished by the sale of the same to such persons as, besides him, were disposed to study the said tongue."*

Palsgrave offered his work to the Duke of Suffolk when he had become husband to the Princess Mary, after the death of Louis XII. It was then presented to the king. The publication of the two parts printed by Pynson seems to have been delayed for the addition of an elaborate third part, printed by J. Haukins (and the only book known to have been printed by him), which, in fact, constitutes the main body of Palsgrave's work as it has come down to us. Printing was finished on the 18th of July, 1530, and only seven copies are now known to be extant. In this first edition, the First Book contains twenty-four leaves; the Second Book begins its pagination with leaf thirty-one, omitting the intervening numbers twenty-five to thirty, and contains twenty-nine leaves; but the number of leaves in the Third Book is four hundred and seventy-three. The Third Book is, in fact, an enlargement of the Second, and, while it treats in more detail of each of the Nine Parts of Speech, it includes under each of them a Dictionary of the words and phrases that are to be classed under it. The whole work is a most important record of the pronunciation and vocabulary of the French spoken by cultivated men in Paris in the first years of the Renaissance, and, incidentally, it is a record also of many an old English word or phrase. Authors are quoted in illustration of the use of words, but even Marot was too young to be in evidence. Palsgrave cites such old writers as Lemaire de Belges, Alain Chartier, Octavien de St. Gelais. French Literature contains no record so early and so full, of the condition of the language at a given time.

But there was another teacher in England, who was the

* Quoted by Dr. Furnivall in the tract on "Pynson's Contracts," before cited.

king's French master. He taught the king's daughter, the Princess Mary, and wrote a French Grammar for the special use of that princess. This was a Frenchman, probably named Giles du Guez—in English form, Giles Dewes. His grammar is very much shorter than Palsgrave's, but it has an interesting feature of its own in a series of occasional dialogues written in French, with a translation of each word into English printed over it. The dialogues were specially designed to qualify the princess for French conversation. There is reference in one of the dialogues to the peace of 1527 between England and France, when the Princess Mary was eleven years old. This indicates the time when they were written and used. Giles Dewes, who died in 1535, was Royal Librarian at Westminster to Henry VIII., and there was granted to him for that office a salary of ten pounds in 1522. He taught French to Henry VIII. and Prince Arthur, as well as to the Princess Mary. His grammar, published without date by Thomas Godfray, was entitled, "An introductorie for to lerne to rede to pronounce and to speke Frenche trewly. Compyled for the right high, excellent and most vertuous Lady, the Lady Mary of Englande, daughter to our most gracious Soverayn Lorde Kyng Henry the eight." *

Giles Dewes.

* The only edition of Palsgrave accessible to students has appended to it the grammar and dialogues of Giles Dewes. It is one of the "*Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France publiés par les soins du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique. Deuxième série: Histoire des Lettres et des Sciences.—L'Éclaircissement de la Langue Française par Jean Palsgrave, suivi de la Grammaire de Giles du Guez. Publiés pour la première fois en France par F. Génin.*" *Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.* 1852. Between the grammar and the dialogue Giles Dewes prints an acrostic that sets forth his name as "Giles du Wes, alias de Vadis"—that is, in French spelling, du Guez. The ten dialogues are very interesting as illustration of the way of training a young princess to talk French. First there is, in prose and verse, "A Laude and Prayse to the Kynge, the Quene, and the Princesse noble Grace for a Preamble or Prologue to the sayd boke." Then the teacher supposes

We shall meet with John Palsgrave again in some relation to the early drama, for he published in 1540 a schoolmaster's translation of a play on the Prodigal Son called "Acolastus," which was first produced in 1529 before citizens of the Hague by Willem de Volder, whose name was Latinised Fullonius, and turned by help of Greek into Gnapheus. Just now, when we are concerned with Palsgrave chiefly as Schoolmaster in the young Duke of Richmond's staff at Sheriff Hutton, in 1525, it is enough to add concerning him that after the publishing of his *Esclaircissement*, in 1530, he settled at Oxford in 1531, and was there admitted in 1532 to the grade of M.A., which was the position he held at the University of Paris; that he proceeded, a few days later, to graduation at Oxford as Bachelor of Divinity; that his interpretation of "Acolastus" in 1540 was designed by him as a model school book; that Cranmer presented him in 1553 to the London living of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East; and that he must have died in the next year, 1554; for on the twelfth of September in that year his prebend of Portpoole in St. Paul's Cathedral was transferred to Edmund Beygotte, *per mortem Joh. Palsgrave.*

John Palsgrave.

Another of the teachers of the young Duke of Richmond

"A Message comming from the Kynges Grace to his wel beloved doughter Lady Mary." Then follows in verse a "Monicion to the Lady Mary by the Lady of Maltravers," upon a proverb; after which Dewes imagined "A Messenger commyng from the emperour, the French kyng, or any other Prynce." There are, in other dialogues, various allusions to the teacher's absence by reason of gout. There is training in talk of love, and in speculation on the Nature of the Soul. There is an exposition of the Mass, for the vocabulary of religion; and "Another communication, where dyverse maner metes ben named, whiche is a right necessary way for shortely to come to the Frenche speche," between the lady Mary and her Almoner, in three parts, including talk at supper. These two old schoolmasters, Palsgrave and Dewes, give pleasant help, in fact, towards an understanding of the time they served, while the English-French Dictionaries of the parts of speech in Palsgrave are also of lasting value to all students of the history of English.

at Sheriff Hutton was Dr. Richard Croke,* Latinised Crocus. He was born in London in 1489, and went in 1506 from Eton to King's College, Cambridge. In 1510, having graduated as Bachelor of Arts, he left Cambridge to study Greek at Oxford under Grocyn. Three years later he was continuing his studies at Paris, where he was poor in purse, and had Erasmus for a friend. From Paris he went to other foreign universities, and was in three of them, Louvain, Cologne, and Leipzig, among the first public teachers of Greek. Croke left Cologne in March, 1515, at the age of twenty-six, and was at Leipzig in the following summer. At Leipzig his Greek lectures drew a very large attendance. Erasmus wrote of him in June, 1516, as the great man of the place; and when he was invited to teach Greek at Prague, Leipzig was active to retain him. One spoke of him as a man who knew more Greek than English. Croke published in 1515, while at Leipzig, an edition of Ausonius, prefaced by an *Achademiæ Lipsensis Encomium Congratulatorium;* also, in 1516, *Tabulæ Græcas literas compendio discere cupientibus sane quam necessarie.* In the same year, 1516, Richard Croke published a translation of the fourth book of Theodore Gaza's Greek Grammar, and promised to translate the preceding three books, at Sir Thomas More's request. In 1517 Croke returned to England, and proceeded to his degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge. Henry VIII. learnt Greek of him. In 1518, Croke began to teach Greek publicly at Cambridge. From 1522 to 1528 he was public orator at Cambridge; in 1523 he became a fellow of St. John's. In 1524 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and read Greek with the young Duke of Richmond when he was resident at King's College. In 1525 Dr. Croke —then thirty-six years old—was attached to the household

Greek Studies: Richard Croke.

The training of Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond.

* "E. W." vii. 68.

of the duke at Sheriff Hutton, and he had reason, in the summer of 1527 to make bitter complaint to Wolsey of the boy's governor, George Cotton, who supported the little son of the king in neglect of lessons and open defiance of his schoolmasters. Cotton encouraged him only in outdoor amusements and the forms of courtly idleness that spoil the lives of empty men of fashion. In February, 1528, Croke added complaints of the squandering of household provisions, for the benefit of themselves and their friends, by those who had charge of the Sheriff Hutton household. In October, 1528, the good scholar was freed from his trust at Sheriff Hutton and the rudeness of self-seeking officials.

When between eight and nine years old, the boy duke, then about to give up to his successor, the young Earl of Northumberland, the office of Warden of the Marches towards Scotland, wrote to his father for a suit of armour that had been promised him for diligence in reading Cæsar's Commentaries. He claimed his prize. His father had then already been bargaining for the profitable disposal of the child in marriage. In June, 1529, Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond, ten years old, was advanced to the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whither Sir William Skeffington was sent in August as his Deputy. The young duke remained Lord Lieutenant till his death, but never went to Ireland. In the same month of August, 1529, he was summoned to take his place in the House of Lords.

Windsor now became the home of Henry Fitz Roy, the king's son, and the care of him was entrusted chiefly to the Duke of Norfolk,* that his training might be advanced by companionship with the duke's son, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was a boy sixteen months older, and best qualified to lead

Surrey and Richmond at Windsor together.

* Eustache Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador in London, reported to the Emperor, on the ninth of December, 1529, a conversation with the Duke of Norfolk, in the course of which the duke said that the king

as a companion in sports and studies. This time of residence at Windsor ended in October, 1532, when the age of the elder boy was not fifteen. Some allowance must be made, therefore—some allowance, but not much—for conventional embroidery with the courtly maker's theme of love, in Surrey's poem that recalls his early memories of Windsor—

> "where I in lust and joy
> With a king's son my childish years did pass,
> In greater feast than Priam's son of Troy;
>
> Where each sweet place returns a taste full sour,
> The large green courts where we were wont to rove,
> With eyes cast up unto the Maiden's tower,
> And easy sighs, such as folk draw in love.
>
> The palm-play where, despoiléd for the game,
> With dazéd eyes oft we, by gleams of love,
> Have missed the ball and got sight of our dame,
> To bait her eyes which kept the leads above."

The two boys, apt for training in conventions of gallantry, tilted against each other with little damsels' sleeves tied on the helm; varied athletic sports and archery with love-singing that proved their progress in politeness; and came back from the hunt to "pleasant dreams and quiet bed of rest." Affection grew between them by

> "The secret thoughts imparted with such trust,
> The wanton talk, the divers change of play;
> The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
> Wherewith we passed the winter nights away."

But a boy of fourteen in those days might fairly enough have "his eyes cast up unto the Maiden's tower," and draw easy sighs; for at fourteen he might be married.

had committed to him the government of his bastard son, the Duke of Richmond, that his own son might teach or incite him to knowledge and virtue by establishing close ties of friendship with him.

By the English law boys at fourteen and girls at twelve attain the marriageable age, but until the age of twenty-one they can marry only with consent of parents or guardians. The Earl of Surrey having reached the marriageable age in 1532, his father lost no time in obtaining through him an alliance profitable to the family. The Duke of Norfolk invested money in the marriage market, by buying of the king some eligible wardships which gave him rights over the marriages of minors who had lost their parents, and who were rich heirs or heiresses of noble families. He had bought, in 1523, the wardship of Lord Monteagle, for the avowed purpose of marrying him to his eldest daughter when she came to marriageable age. In the same way he had bought a wife for one of his sons by bargaining for the wardship of the eldest daughter of Lord Marney, before her father was well dead; and he married her to his second son, Thomas. He had spoken for some time of marrying her to the Earl of Surrey, but Anne Boleyn, during her short reign over the king, dreamed of marrying her cousin the Earl of Surrey to the king's daughter, Mary Tudor, and of marrying the king's son, the Duke of Richmond, to Surrey's youngest sister, Mary. Chapuys, the emperor's ambassador in London, reported to his master, in September, 1530, talk of the Earl of Surrey as a husband for the Princess Mary. But in the next month Anne Boleyn had given up that dangerous suggestion, and was urging Surrey's marriage to the Lady Frances de Vere, daughter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, hereditary Grand Chamberlain. The Duke of Norfolk, though a cold friend to the Earl of Oxford, yielded to her counselling. As soon, therefore, as the Earl of Surrey reached the marriageable age, he was united to the Lady Frances de Vere by a marriage contract dated the thirteenth of February, 1532. Haste was made, to avoid risks from anger of the king at rumour of an aspiration to the hand of Mary

Surrey married.

Tudor. But the youth of the bride and bridegroom caused it to be agreed between their parents that they should wait three years before living together. Surrey, therefore, returned to Windsor, and his young countess went home to her father.

On the eleventh of October, 1532, when Henry VIII. disembarked at Calais, the two boys, Surrey and Richmond, landed with him. Surrey went with the king to Boulogne, while Richmond stayed with Anne Boleyn at Calais. The King of England presently returned to Calais, bringing the King of France with him. There were three days of festivity, and before Henry VIII. went back to England Surrey and Richmond had left Calais for the continuation of their studies of politeness at the Court of France. Francis I. had agreed with his brother of England to take charge of them, and advance their courtly training. They passed through a line of courtesies as they went, under care of an almoner, to Chantilly, where Francis I. embraced the Duke of Richmond as a fourth son of his own. In that character King Francis presented him to the Dauphin and his two other sons, and during Richmond's stay at Paris afterwards the French king lodged him among his sons, and caused him to be treated as their equal. The Earl of Surrey, having been installed by Henry VIII. as his son's companion, shared whatever advantage there may have been in this comradeship with the young princes of France. He went with the Court of France to Fontainebleau, and afterwards took part in a royal progress of King Francis I. through Auvergne and Languedoc. Surrey's father, the Duke of Norfolk, met with King Francis while they were on the way. He came as ambassador from Henry VIII., to persuade his brother of France against a proposed interview with the Pope. The Pope also was, at this time, suggesting to Charles V. a device of marriage between the Earl of Surrey and

Surrey and Richmond at the Court of France.

Henry VIII.'s daughter, Mary Tudor, after annulling the marriage with Lady Frances de Vere, which had not been consummated. But the emperor well knew that this was a vain policy. The contract of marriage with the Earl of Oxford's daughter had, in fact, been hurried forward by Anne Boleyn's wish to avert the wrath of the king at whisper of a marriage between Surrey and his daughter Mary.

But Anne Boleyn was resolved on marrying the young Duke of Richmond to Surrey's youngest sister, Mary, whose two elder sisters, Lady Monteagle and the Countess of Derby, were already dead. The Countess of Derby had been married but a year when she died of the plague in March, 1530. The Duke of Norfolk was agreeing, in the summer of that year, to retain his hold upon the valuable widower by passing him on to his third daughter, Mary, when Anne Boleyn intervened on behalf of the Duke of Richmond. So the Duke of Norfolk could do no better in the way of keeping the young Earl of Derby in the family than by marrying him, for want of another daughter, to his half-sister, Lady Dorothy Howard. The Duchess of Norfolk, meanwhile, despising Anne Boleyn, was averse to every arrangement of her making, and the more because her husband's mistress, Elizabeth Holland, was promoted from the household of the duke to be a lady of the Court, attendant on Anne Boleyn. The duke took pains to appease his wife, that no domestic discord might break out at the wedding of the Duke of Richmond and their daughter Mary. The wedding day was the twenty-fifth of November, 1533. Within four months after the marriage of the king's bastard to the Lady Mary Howard, at which it had been important that the whole family should behave itself, the Duke of Norfolk had ceased to put any check on his behaviour to his wife. She tried, in her husband's absence,

Richmond married.

Surrey's home at Kenninghall.

to turn out of the house at Kenninghall all relatives of her husband's mistress. The duke, then hurrying home from Court, opposed wrath to wrath. He expelled the duchess and sent her away, to live on an allowance of three hundred marks a year, at Redbourn, in Hertfordshire. As the indignant wife told her own case in a letter to Thomas Cromwell: "He set his women to bind me till blood came out at my fingers' ends, and they pynnacullyt" (pinioned) "me, and sat on my breast till I spet blood and he never punished them, and all this was done for Bess Holland's sake." Her children did not venture to take actively their mother's part against a strong-willed father, upon whom their own fortunes depended. This, also, the unhappy mother of the poet bitterly resented. Elizabeth Holland lived at Court until the death of Queen Jane Seymour, in October, 1537. She was then installed in the Duke of Norfolk's household at Kenninghall, nominally as companion to the Duchess of Richmond, who was then a widow. The Duke had died at St. James's Palace on the twenty-second of July, 1536, and had been buried at the Norfolk Priory of Thetford, in the tomb of the Howards.*

Death of the Duke of Richmond.

* When the Priory of Thetford was dissolved, the body was removed to Framlingham. The fullest account of this king's son, whose story is linked with that of the Earl of Surrey, is in the third volume of "the Camden Miscellany," printed for the Camden Society in 1855: "Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plate, Chapel Stuff, etc., of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, and of the Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager. Edited, with a Memoir and Letters of the Duke of Richmond, by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A."

CHAPTER II.

SURREY AND WYATT.

THE appointed years of delay having come to an end in 1535—year of the executions of More and Fisher — the Earl of Surrey joined lives with his young wife, and they were settled together in his father's house at Kenninghall, ill furnished with money of their own. In June, 1535, when the Duke of Norfolk was at Calais, his son was borrowing twenty pounds of the prior of Bury St. Edmund's. "Notwithstanding," he wrote, "that aforetime I have borrowed of you to the sum of thirty pound sterling, having not yet repaid it, yet by very need and extreme necessity I am again constrained, my known good lord, at this present affectuously to desire you to show yourself so much my cordial friend as to lend some over and above twenty pound, in such haste as I may have it here to-morrow by eight of the clock." On the tenth of March, 1536, Surrey's first child, his son Thomas, was born. More children were afterwards born to him, a second son and three daughters, and his domestic life was much happier than his father's.

Surrey married.

On the eighteenth of May, 1536, Surrey's cousin, Anne Boleyn, and her brother, Lord Rochford, were condemned to death. The Duke of Norfolk was obliged to preside at the trial as Grand Seneschal, and the Earl of Surrey sat by his father, whose office of Earl Marshal was, for that occasion, delegated to him.

Execution of Lord Rochford.

Lord Rochford was executed on the seventeenth of May, Anne Boleyn on the nineteenth. George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, was known also for skill in verse among the courtly makers of Henry VIII.'s reign, but we do not know whether any—or, if any, which—of the pieces of unknown authorship that have come down to us were written by him.

On the third of July, 1536, the Earl of Surrey was present at the celebration of the triple wedding of a son and two daughters of his uncle the Earl of Westmorland. The son, Henry Lord Nevill, was marrying Lady Anne Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, and the weddings of the two daughters were celebrated on the same day in the Earl of Rutland's house at Holywell. The king came masqued to the wedding. The site of Holywell is now included in Shoreditch, a place formerly of pleasant fields outside the walls of London, and scattered among those fields were the houses and gardens of rich foreign merchants. It was near Holywell that the first theatres were built, forty years later.

A Wedding at Holywell.

On the eighteenth of July, 1536—four days before the death of the young Duke of Richmond—the Earl of Surrey's uncle, Lord Thomas Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was sent to the Tower for contracting himself in marriage, without asking the king's leave, to the king's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Tudor and Archibald Douglas. Lord Thomas Howard refused to obtain his liberty at the price of a formal renunciation of the woman he loved, and he died, close prisoner in the Tower, on the thirty-first of October, 1537. Surrey referred to this in a poem to a lady who refused to dance with him :—

A Death in the Tower.

> "If you be fair and fresh, am I not of your hue?
> And for my vaunt I dare well say, my blood is not untrue;
> For you yourself doth know, it is not long ago
> Sith that for love one of the race did end his life in woe,

In Tower both strong and high, for his assurèd truth,
Whereas in tears he spent his breath, alas, the more the ruth!
This gentle beast so died, whom nothing could remove,
But willingly to seek his death for loss of his true love."*

After the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, in March, 1536, discontent among the people who still held by the old order in the Church grew to rebellion. In October the rebellion made such head at Louth, in Lincolnshire, that the Duke of Norfolk had to levy troops. The king summoned him to Ampthill, and he left his son, the Earl of Surrey, in command. He was to march his little force against the rebels, who were led by Dr. Mackerel, Prior of Barlings, and one "Captain Cobbler." When they had reached Cambridge, the king countermanded their advance, the Earl of Shrewsbury having persuaded those insurgents to disperse. But then there was the rising in the North—in Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland—and forty thousand men were in arms under Robert Aske to take part in what was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Their aim was to restore the Pope's authority in England; re-establish the Princess Mary's right of succession to the throne; restore the suppressed monasteries to the Church; and destroy the authority of Thomas Cromwell, the king's Vicar-General. The Duke of Norfolk and the king avoided pushing conflict to extremity. The duke and the Earl of Surrey, though obedient to the king's will, thought with the rebels. By Christmas the king's friends had pacified the rebels without bloodshed. Robert Aske was invited to Court, where he was to speak his mind to the king freely. He desired of the Duke of Norfolk that hostages might be given for his safety, and the duke gave as hostages his two sons, the Earl of Surrey and Thomas Howard, also one

The Pilgrimage of Grace.

* These lines are in the poem beginning, "Each beast can choose his fere according to his mind."

of his brothers, Lord William Howard, with three other gentlemen. Robert Aske then went to the king at Windsor, returned unhurt, and himself assisted in the pacification of the Yorkshiremen. Surrey, being thus set free, left his father in Yorkshire, returned to his wife at Kenninghall, and spent part of his time at Court. As for Robert Aske, though he still tried to keep peace, within six months he was hanged.

Thomas Lord Darcy of Templehurst was among those who were sent to execution after the king's withdrawal of his amnesty. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the thirtieth of June, 1537. Among statements obtained from him, some were said to include the Earl of Surrey as one of those who favoured the claims of the rebels. Surrey was with the king at Hampton Court in the last days of June, when a near kinsman of the new queen, Jane Seymour—he may have been Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, her elder brother, afterwards made Earl of Hertford—twitted Surrey with Lord Darcy's words about him. Surrey, who was of a quick proud temper, and disliked the upstart family of Seymours, answered with a blow. For a blow given, as this was, within precincts of the Court, the penalty was loss of the right hand. Surrey was cited to appear before the Privy Council. His father was in Yorkshire, and humbled himself to seek, by letter, the good offices of Thomas Cromwell on his son's behalf. It was not likely, in such a case, that the full penalty would be exacted; but without the friendly help of Thomas Cromwell Surrey might have received a harder sentence of imprisonment than that which banished him to Windsor, where he might not go beyond bounds of the Castle and the Park. This imprisonment at Windsor gave occasion to the poem in which Surrey recalls past days there with the Duke of Richmond. It is the poem opened with the lines—

Surrey's Imprisonment at Windsor.

"So cruel prison how could betide, alas,
As proud Windsor, where I in lust and joy
With a king's son my childish years did pass."

Surrey's age at the time of the imprisonment wanted some months of twenty. Another poem written during this time begins with the line, "When Windsor walls sustained my weary arm." Now, too, the Earl of Surrey wrote verse for the child, Elizabeth Fitzgerald, upon whom he spent some kindly gallantries by dedicating poems to her as his Geraldine. She was the youngest daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, by his second wife, who was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, granddaughter of Edward IV.'s queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and first cousin to King Henry VIII. Gerald Fitzgerald died a prisoner in the Tower, in September, 1534, leaving his wife and the little daughter, then about six years old, at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire, under care of his wife's brother, Lord Leonard Grey, who, in January, 1536, succeeded Skeffington as the Duke of Richmond's deputy in Ireland. When nine or ten years old, the child was attached to the service of the Princess Mary at Hunsdon, where care was taken for her education, and there Surrey first saw her, in the spring of 1537. In the following July she was with the Princess Elizabeth, for a few days, at Hampton Court, where Surrey saw her again. Her father was dead. Most of her kindred were attainted as rebels.* There was much

Poems to Geraldine.

* The claim of the Fitzgeralds to descend from the Florentine Giraldi is included in the identifying sonnet:

"From Tuscane came my lady's worthy race;
Fair Florence was sometime their ancient seat,
The western isle whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat.

"Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast:
Her sire an Earl, her dame of Prince's blood.

pity for the little kinswoman of the king, and Henry VIII. was kind to her. Italian sequences of love sonnets, following old usage of the poets, were addressed in gallantry to ladies whom it was desired to please and honour, and to whom no one could, at the time, suppose that there was the unseemly address of a public personal love suit in poems that were passed from hand to hand. Elizabeth Fitzgerald was a pet child of the Court. Surrey was altogether happy in his marriage, but abstained, as Dante and every other good Italian poet had abstained, from public writing to his wife. He took his part in the new fashionable way of writing love verses, but made his position very clear to those about him by adopting for the lady of his rhymes a hapless little girl of royal blood, to whom it was with many of the courtiers a pleasure to be kind. In 1540, when the Princess Mary's establishment was broken up at Hunsdon, Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, then only about twelve years old, was transferred to the care of Queen Catherine Howard at Hampton Court. Three years later, at the age of fifteen, she was married to Sir Anthony Browne, whose age was sixty. She outlived two husbands, and herself died in March, 1589. She was followed to the grave by sixty-one old women, numbering the years of her life. Elizabeth Fitzgerald's first husband was living, and her own age was but nineteen, when the Earl of Surrey went to the scaffold.

From tender years in Britain doth she rest,
With king's child, where she tasteth costly food.

" Hunsdon did first present her to mine eyne:
Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight;
Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,
And Windsor, alas, doth chase her from my sight.

" Her beauty of kind; her virtues from above:
Happy is he that can obtain her love."

He had a wife then to whom he was really attached, and a family of children.*

Surrey's ill will to the Seymours was not lessened by his detention at Windsor, and it lasted for life. Jane Seymour's son, Edward, afterwards King Edward VI., was born on the twelfth of October, 1537, and twelve days afterwards the mother died. The life of this prince came to be the death of Surrey.

Birth of Prince Edward.

When free to leave Windsor, the young earl went home to Kenninghall, whence he sent to the king, on the first of the next January, his New Year's gift of three bowls silver-gilt. His eldest son, Thomas, was born at Kenninghall on the tenth of March, 1536, and Surrey took the child's horoscope at the time of birth, for he had faith in astrology. His page, Thomas Churchyard, afterwards said of him that his knowledge crept beyond the stars, and "almost he had foresight to know ere things should come to pass." Thomas Churchyard, afterwards a busy poet, was attached to the Earl of Surrey's household, and was in 1538 a youth of eighteen, devoted to his chief. An Italian astrologer, who was also a member of the household, took the horoscope of Surrey's second son, Henry, who was born on the twenty-fifth of February, 1540. Many poems, including, probably, the translation of two books of the Æneid into the first blank verse used by an English poet, were written by the Earl of Surrey during the quiet time at Kenninghall that followed his imprison-

Surrey at home.

* In 1578, Drayton included among his "Heroical Epistles" an imaginary letter from Geraldine to Surrey; and in 1594 Thomas Nash published a romance of "The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jack Wilton," in which Surrey is made the hero of imaginary incidents as a knight errant in Italy, challenging all comers in honour of fair Geraldine. This fiction seems to have set other imaginations free, and the climax of misapprehension was reached by Dr. Nott in his edition of the works of Surrey published in 1815.

ment at Windsor. He was also recognising the good promise of Thomas Churchyard, who was indebted to him for four years of liberal training.

In 1539 England was threatened with invasion. The Pope had excommunicated Henry VIII. Reginald Pole, made cardinal, had stirred Charles V. to hostile preparations. A fleet was to meet at Antwerp. France might join in the attack. Old English forts were being strengthened, new were being built for coast defence, and Surrey was required to see to the defence of Norfolk. But the emperor's policy became more friendly, the danger passed away, and Surrey's public duties in 1539 were confined to attendance at a few Court ceremonies. At the end of December he was with the king at Greenwich when Anne of Cleves was to be received there. In the first days of May, 1540, Surrey took part, with lance and sword, in a state tournament at Westminster. On the twelfth of the following July, the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves was cancelled. On the twenty-eighth of the same month Thomas Cromwell was executed. The king's next wife was a first cousin of Surrey's, for Henry VIII. married at Hampton Court, on the eighth of August, 1540, the Duke of Norfolk's niece, Catherine Howard.

Surrey at Court.

The king's new marriage brought the Earl of Surrey once more into sunshine at Court. On the twenty-first of May, 1541, when his age was but twenty-three, he was installed at Windsor as Knight of the Garter. He was also appointed to an office of profit as seneschal of the domains of the Duchy of Lancaster within the county of Norfolk. But the reign of Surrey's kinswoman was short. On the tenth of December, 1541, Thomas Culpeper and Francis Derham were executed as old lovers of hers. Several members of her family were soon afterwards condemned to imprisonment and confiscation of their property for having

concealed their knowledge of her misdoing. These are the imprisonments referred to in Surrey's lines—

> "Other there be whose lives do linger still in pain,
> Against their wills preservéd are, that would have died fain."*

But the Earl of Surrey did not suffer by the fall of his cousin, for on the eighth of December, 1541, the king gave him a secularised convent, and several manors in Norfolk and Suffolk. Catherine Howard was beheaded on the thirteenth of February, 1542, on the same spot where Anne Boleyn had been divorced in the same manner.

On the thirteenth of July, 1542, it was ordered by the Privy Council at Esher that, for striking John à Leigh, the Earl of Surrey should be sent to the Fleet Prison, "to remain there prisoner during the king's pleasure, having two of his servants to attend upon him"; and none were to be suffered "to resort to banquet with him." The young earl, finding the pestilential air of the Fleet prison dangerous to health, petitioned the Privy Council "to be suitors to the King's Majesty on my behalf, as well for his favour as for my liberty; or else, at the least, if his pleasure be to punish this oversight with the forbearing of his presence (which unto every loving subject, specially unto me, from a Prince cannot be less counted than a living death) yet it would please him to command me into the country to some place of open air, with like constraint of liberty, there to abide his grace's pleasure." The result of his appeal was that the Warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring the Earl of Surrey to the king at Windsor. There, on the first of August, he was set free, after binding himself to pay to John à Leigh ten thousand marks if he molested him again.

Surrey sent to the Fleet Prison.

* The lines are in the poem already referred to, beginning "Each beast can choose his fere." It was written, therefore, before the autumn of 1542, when three members of the Howard family were freed from their imprisonment.

War was then being prepared against the Scots, and on the first of September the Earl of Surrey, with Lord William Howard, then newly released from the Tower, left London to join the force collected at York by the Duke of Norfolk. They carried fire and slaughter over the Border, and burnt Kelso. But when they heard that James V. of Scotland had raised an army of thirty thousand to resist them, they retired on Berwick for the winter. Meanwhile, ten thousand Scots had been surprised and defeated at Solway Moss by a small English force of three hundred cavalry, and the King of Scotland died soon afterwards, on the thirteenth of December. His only child was Mary Stuart, born six days before his death.

Surrey sees Kelso burnt.

The birth of Mary Queen of Scots.

Berwick was so ill-provisioned that many soldiers had to be discharged. The winter in the North was bitterly cold. The Duke of Norfolk left, therefore, a lieutenant in command, and came back with his son to London.

While Surrey was absent on this expedition, Sir Thomas Wyatt died, on the tenth of October, 1542, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. Surrey was in his twenty-fifth year when Sir Thomas Wyatt died, and Wyatt's age was thirty-nine. We left Wyatt in the Tower, where he was confined, in the winter of 1540-41, on a charge of disrespect to the king and traitorous correspondence with Cardinal Pole.* In his close imprisonment Wyatt addressed to his friend Sir Francis Bryan, who was another of the "courtly makers" of Henry VIII.'s time, the lines already quoted, ending with the words,

Last Years of Sir Thomas Wyatt.

> "Sure I am, Bryan, this wound shall heal again;
> But yet, alas, the scar shall still remain." †

* "E. W." vii. 309-312.

† The same thought was in Wyatt's speech for his Defence: "These men thinketh it enough to accuse; and, as all these slanderers use for

When his trial came, Edmund Bonner, who had been made Bishop of London in October, 1539, arrayed against Sir Thomas all the charges he could muster, and produced witnesses whom the accused was not allowed to cross-examine. Wyatt was free only to defend himself with a single speech, which is preserved, and it procured for him a full acquittal.

Edmund Bonner had been joined in commission with Dr. Haynes, the king's chaplain, to co-operate with Sir Thomas Wyatt, then ambassador in Spain. They were to be present at an interview at Nice between Charles V. and Francis I., in June, 1538, and seek to prevent a reconciliation, since all strife between Francis and Charles was a good bar to their union against Henry. Nevertheless, there was a truce made for ten years between Francis and Charles, and Bonner, when he came home, threw upon Wyatt all the blame of failure. Upon endeavours made by Sir Thomas Wyatt to get, for the king's service, information of the policy of his opponents, through persons employed to extract it from Cardinal Pole, Bonner founded a charge of secret "intelligence with the king's rebel and traitor, Pole." In his Declaration to the Lords of Privy Council on this matter, Wyatt said wisely by the way, "I have always been of opinion, that the King's Majesty either should send for Ambassadors such as he trusteth, or trust such as he sendeth." Wyatt's speech in his own defence was homely, fearless, animated, not too long, and throughout straight to the point. He dealt easily with the main charge, and cleverly with charges founded upon words spoken in unguarded talk, not omitting one or two good-humoured thrusts at his accusers that would turn a laugh against them. In the close he said :—

a general rule, *Whom thou lovest not, accuse: for though he heal the wound, yet the scar shall remain.*"—Nott's edition of Wyatt, 1816, p. 291.

"The confidence put in my affairs, is for you to acquit me. And it is a naughty fear, if any man have such, to think a Quest dare not acquit a man of treason when they think he is clear; for it were a foul slander to the King's Majesty. He, God be thanked, he is no tyrant; he will not such things against men's conscience. He will but his laws, and his laws with mercy. What displeasure bore he to the Lords for the acquitting the Lord Dacres? Never none; nor will unto you, if you do as conscience leads you. And for a great cause, the law ministereth betwixt the king and his subject an Oath to the Quest in favour of the subject: for it supposeth more favour to be borne to the Prince than to the party, if the Oath bound not Christian men's conscience. Thus much I thought to say unto you afore both God and man to discharge me, that I seem not to perish in my own fault, for lack of declaring my truth: and afore God and all these men, I charge you with my innocent truth; that in case, as God defend, ye be guilty of my innocent blood, that ye before his tribunal shall be inexcusable. And for conclusion. Our Lord put in your hearts to pronounce upon me according as I have willed to the King my master and Sovereign, in heart, will, and wish."

Wyatt was acquitted, and the king was satisfied. A few days after his acquittal the king gave him, on the 10th of July, 1541, some lands in Lambeth. Early in 1542 the king made Wyatt High Steward of the Manor of Maidstone, an office of five pounds a year, and effected some exchanges of estates with him. These exchanges were for the king's convenience. Sir Thomas Wyatt acquired lands of suppressed priories in Somerset and Dorset, in exchange for many manors and estates in Kent.

Wyatt, freed from the Tower, had returned to Allington, and wrote at this time some of his best verses, including the three satires inspired by Horace and Alamanni, one of them addressed to his friend John Poynz, and another to Sir Francis Bryan. In one of them he rejoices that he is not judging wine in France, affecting a fine wit in Spain, making a beast of himself in Flanders—

> "Nor I am not, where Christ is given in prey
> For money, poison, and trahison at Rome,

A common practice, uséd night and day;
But here I am, in Kent and Christendom,
Among the Muses where I read and rhyme:
Where if thou list, my Poynz, for to come,
Thou shalt be judge how I do spend my time."

Wyatt wrote also at this time his Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms. His sister Margaret had married Sir Anthony Lee, and Wyatt took charge at Allington of their son Henry, who was now about ten years old, and of whom it was afterwards recorded on his tomb that he "owed his birth and childhood to Kent and his honourable uncle Sir Thomas Wyatt at Allington Castle." Sir Thomas Wyatt was now fully restored to the king's favour. In October, 1542, Henry VIII. and Charles V. were projecting joint war against Francis I. A Spanish ambassador, who was sent to England for discussion of the matter, landed unexpectedly at Falmouth. Sir Thomas Wyatt, as the statesman best acquainted with the ways of Spaniards and affairs of Spain, was sent in all haste to meet him and conduct him with due honour to London. Weather was wet and haste so hot that Wyatt caught a chill upon the way. He was down with fever when he had reached Sherborne. He stayed at Sherborne, nursed by his young friend Edward Horsey, whom he had known as a soldier of fortune with the Emperor. The fever became malignant; in a few days Wyatt died. It was thought dangerous, by reason of infection, to remove his body into Kent, and Sir Thomas Wyatt was laid at Sherborne in the family vault of the Horseys, on the eleventh of October, 1542. The Earl of Surrey wrote, in praise of the dead poet whose name England has coupled with his own, three sonnets and a noble character in verse.

Sir Thomas Wyatt's widow survived him. His one child —a son, named after himself, and known as Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger—was described as of age in the inquisition taken on his father's death, and had been described by

his father as sixteen years old, in letters written to him out of Spain in 1538 or in the beginning of 1539. He was, therefore, only three years younger than Surrey when he became his father's heir. They were old friends, for Surrey's father had been the younger Wyatt's godfather. Thomas Wyatt the younger had married, in 1536 or 1537, the daughter of Sir William Hawte, of Bourne, in Kent. In the middle of January, 1543, three or four months after his father's death, the new master of Allington was comrade with the Earl of Surrey and William Pickering in an idle frolic between nine o'clock and midnight. They fired pebbles from their crossbows against the upper windows of the sleeping citizens of London. On the same night, or the night before, they rowed on the river to shoot with the same bows into the quarters of the loose women on Bankside. Surrey then was lodging with a Mistress Arundel, in St. Laurence Lane, where they ate meat in Lent. The Mayor and Recorder of London declared these offences to the Privy Council, putting foremost the misdemeanour of eating meat on fast days, and on the first of April Surrey came before the Privy Council at St, James's. Touching the breach of fast, he said that he had a licence, but had not eaten the meat so secretly as he should. Touching the stone bows, "he could not deny but he had very evil done therein, submitting himself therefore to such punishment as should to them be thought good." Whereupon he was for the second time committed to the Fleet. Wyatt the younger and William Pickering did not imitate the frank truthfulness of Surrey, but attempted vain denials which they found they must retract. This brought them the severer penalty of a confinement in the Tower. Surrey's faithful retainer, Thomas Clere—who afterwards died for him—had been as frank as his master, and told all he knew about the matter.

Surrey again sent to the Fleet Prison.

In his imprisonment the Earl of Surrey wrote playful lines

against the London that had accused him. He professed that his wish had been to arouse her citizens to a sense of their dissolute life, by suggestion of a judgment upon Babylon. He would teach them, he said, "that secret sin hath secret spite," and that all such as work unright "in most quiet are next ill rest"—

> "That as the fearful thunder clap
> By sudden flame at hand we know,
> Of pebble stones the soundless rap
> The dreadful plague might make thee see
> Of God's wrath that doth thee enwrap."

Though this was not meant seriously, it was a whimsical thought that must have entered into the first notion of the window stoning. Taking boat at night to break the windows of the loose women on Bankside showed that the original jest lay in a riot of ill life for the disturbance of ill living. Surrey's imprisonment may have been shorter as well as lighter than that of Wyatt and Pickering, but it could not have extended beyond the third of May, when these comrades of his were set free from the Tower.

Meanwhile there had been signed, on the eleventh of February, 1543, the projected treaty between Henry VIII. and Charles V. of alliance against Francis I., which had brought to Falmouth the Spanish ambassador whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder had made fatal haste to meet. English troops were at the end of June to be sent into Artois, to act with an Imperial army for the next four months. Sir John Wallop, Governor of Guines, was appointed to command this force, with Sir Thomas Seymour, who was presently replaced by Sir Francis Bryan.

Sir Francis Bryan.

Sir Francis, grandson of Sir Thomas Bryan, who was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1471 to 1500, was son of a knight who had married the sister of John Bourchier, Lord Berners.*

* "E. W." vii. 280-282.

The translator of Froissart was therefore his uncle. Francis Bryan was in 1513 captain of a ship in the fleet of Admiral Sir Thomas Howard. In 1516 the king, who was strongly attached to him from youth up, made him his cupbearer. He served in many offices of trust and pleasure, and was Henry VIII.'s favourite companion. He trimmed his sails too readily to all changes of wind in the policy of his masterful friend. Sir Francis Bryan had high reputation as a "courtly maker," but like George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, he wrote verse of which no piece has come down to us with his name attached. In the volume, afterwards to be described, known commonly as "Tottel's Miscellany," which contains among

> "Those small poems which the title bear
> Of Songs and Sonnets"

many unsigned pieces by Court poets of Henry VIII.'s time, we know from Drayton that there are many pieces by Sir Francis Bryan. Bryan, whom Drayton names also as

> "sacred Bryan whom the Muses kept,
> And in his cradle rocked him as he slept," *

was Lord Marshal of Ireland when he died suddenly in 1550. At the end of the sixteenth century there must have been distinctive knowledge of his verse; for in 1598 Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, included Bryan as one of "the most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the complexities of love." It was he who suggested to Lord Berners that he should translate Guevara's "Marcus Aurelius," and he was himself the translator of Guevara's treatise on Contempt of Court Life and Praise of the Country, first published in 1548 by Berthelet as "A Despraise of the Life of a Courtier, and a Commendacion of the Life of a Labouryng Man." It was reprinted in 1575 as "A

* Heroical Epistles—Surrey to Geraldine.

Looking-glasse for the Court, composed in the Castilion tongue by the Lorde Anthony of Guevarra, Bishop of Mondonent and Cronicler to the Emperor Charles, and out of Castilion drawne into Frenche by Anthony Alaygre, and out of the Frenche tongue into Englishe by Sir Francis Briant, knight, one of the priuye chamber in the raygn of K. Henry the eyght."

It was much more agreeable to Surrey that Sir Francis Bryan should be in authority than that a Howard should be under a Seymour,—when he joined the English force sent to assist the operations of Charles V. against France. On the fourth of October, 1543, Surrey, supplied with special recommendations from Henry VIII. to Charles V., joined the English force before Landrecies. The French had taken in June that small fortified town on the Sambre, and Sir John Wallop joined the Imperialists in endeavour to regain it by a siege. Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger was in the same army, with a little troop of his own raising. When the English force was on its way back to Calais in November, Landrecies not taken, Sir Francis Bryan and the Earl of Surrey joined the Emperor at Valenciennes. Charles V. then wrote to Henry VIII. a friendly testimony on behalf of Surrey, which he gave to the young earl when he took leave on the eighteenth of November. He and Sir Francis Bryan then went to take leave of the Queen of Hungary. In December they were in London again. The king now appointed Surrey to be his cupbearer, an office which gave him, for the first time, the Bouche of Court.* In February, 1544, the king joined Surrey with the Earl of Essex, brother of Queen Catherine Parr, in the business of introducing to him, with all those exemplary delays and forms which the Spaniards enjoyed, a Spanish general whom Surrey had known at Landrecies.

Surrey before Landrecies.

Surrey at Court.

* "E. W." vii. 88.

It was at this time that Surrey—who was not rich, and spent usually beyond his means—employed himself upon the building of a lordly pleasure house at Saint Leonard, near Norwich. The site of it, still known as Mount Surrey, was ground belonging to the secularised abbey of Thorpe, which Surrey got from the king in exchange for manors that the Duke of Norfolk gave to his son on his marriage. This building exhausted his means. When it was finished it had yet to be furnished, the Duke of Norfolk would not help, and his son's credit was pawned to the utmost. The Earl of Surrey never lived in his great house, and it was destroyed, only two years after his death, in the revolt of Norfolk people under Robert Ket.

Mount Surrey.

There was a learned physician, Hadrianus Junius, whom Bishop Bonner had found at the siege of Landrecies—Bonner was present there as ambassador from Henry VIII. to Charles V. This learned man, in March, 1544, was introduced by Bonner into the household of the Duke of Norfolk, and he was chosen by Surrey in the following autumn to be tutor to his sons. Among his own people he was Adrien Jonghe, born in 1511 at Horn, in Holland. He obtained wide reputation for his learning in Languages and Literature, as well as in Medicine, and died in 1575.

Hadrianus Junius.

In June, 1544, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Russell crossed to Calais, in command of an army that was to operate in aid of a siege of Boulogne, at which Henry VIII. would be present in person. Having received inadequate provisions and cold support from the Imperialists, having been assigned, also, a position that Surrey inspected and reported to be unfit for them, the English troops took their own station, on the third of July, for the siege of Montreuil. Surrey and others went on a marauding expedition, burnt the towns of Saint Riquier and Rue and the suburbs of

Surrey at the siege of Montreuil.

Abbeville, and came back driving herds of cattle into the ill-victualled camp. Henry VIII. crossed with troops under the Duke of Suffolk and stationed himself before Boulogne, where Surrey visited him on the eleventh of September with a report from his father. He was there just at the time when fire was set to the English mines that blew up the citadel of Boulogne, together with some of the English miners who had not escaped quickly enough. Next day Boulogne was surrendered by its commandant, the Sieur de Vervians. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Russell then delivered their assault upon Montreuil, but were repulsed. The Earl of Surrey had pressed too far into the ranks of the enemy. His faithful page, Thomas Clere, hastened to his rescue, and received a wound of which he died in the next year, on the fourteenth of April. Thomas Clere, of a family that came in with the Conqueror and traced its origin from Cleremont, in Normandy, was the youngest son of Sir Robert Clere, of Ormesby, in Norfolk. He was cousin to Anne Boleyn, for his mother was the daughter of Sir William Boleyn and Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Ormond. He was of like age with Surrey, or a year older, and was engaged, or married, to the daughter of Sir John Shelton, of Shelton, in Norfolk. He was buried at Lambeth in a chapel of the Howard family, and Surrey wrote these lines for inscription on a wall tablet near his place of burial—

Boulogne taken.

Surrey at Montreuil, rescued by Thomas Clere.

> "Norfolk sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead;
> Clere of the Counts of Cleremont, thou hight,
> Within the womb of Ormond's race thou bred,
> And saw'st thy cousin crownéd in thy sight.
> Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thou chase*—
> Aye me! while life did last that league was tender—
> Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsal blaze,

* *Chase*, didst choose.

Landrecy burnt, and battered Boulogne render.
At Montreuil gates, hopeless of all recure,
Thine earl, half dead, gave in thine hand his will;
Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
Ere summers four times seven thou couldst fulfil.
Ah, Clere! if love had booted, care, or cost,
Heaven had not won, nor Earth so timely lost."

Henry VIII., satisfied with the taking of Boulogne, returned to England on the thirtieth of September. Charles V. had been marching on Paris, but, dissatisfied with the delay of the English before Boulogne and Montreuil, treated for separate peace with France before he knew that Boulogne was captured. The peace was signed at Crespy-en-Laonnais, on the nineteenth of September. The army raised to meet the Emperor was thus set free for the relief of Montreuil, and Surrey had charge of the withdrawal of the English troops from Montreuil to Calais. He was in London again in November; and Boulogne—all other troops withdrawn—was left to be held by a garrison of three thousand English under Sir Edward Poynings, who was named Captain of the town. At home, in the meantime, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, carried fire and sword into Scotland, and burnt Edinburgh.

End of the Campaign. Winter Quarters.

Next summer, on the tenth of July, 1545, a French fleet sailed from Havre for the Isle of Wight. An English fleet was collected at Spithead under Lord Lisle; the king was at Portsmouth, and the Earl of Surrey in attendance on him. The French anchored before Selsey Bill. Lord Lisle submitted to the king his plan for catching them there, but the king sent Surrey on board the admiral's ship for further explanations, and when his Majesty gave leave to attack, it was too late: the enemy, not seeing how to disembark, had sailed back home. King Francis then applied his energies

Surrey made Governor of Boulogne.

to the recapture of Boulogne. Marshal du Biez had begun erection of a fort upon a height that commanded the entrance to the harbour. This fort, if finished, would prevent the approach of ships for victualling the English garrison, that was already in much want of supplies. Sir Edward Poynings, who had been raised to the peerage for his repulse of a French army at the close of the last fighting season, called for reinforcements; and in the middle of August, 1545, Surrey was sent with five thousand men to Calais, just after the birth of his second daughter, Catherine. Lord Poynings died. For a few days Lord Grey of Wilton, Captain of Guines, replaced him at Boulogne and the Earl of Surrey replaced Lord Grey at Guines Castle. But on the thirty-first of August the Earl of Surrey was appointed Governor of Boulogne, with the further title of the King's Lieutenant-General by Land and Sea for all Possessions of England on the Continent.

While Marshal du Biez was away burning the harvests in the Terre d'Oye, to the east of Calais, the Earl of Surrey made a night attack on the works of the inconvenient fort of Outreau, at the mouth of the harbour. The attack was repulsed, and on this or on some similar occasion Surrey exposed his own person in fight on the bridge of the fort with a rashness against which he received warning from the Privy Council. The Privy Council was then urging the king to secure peace with France by the restoration of Boulogne. The king was able to base his refusal to do so upon Surrey's confidence that he could hold the town. The Duke of Norfolk warned his son that he had nothing to gain for himself by staying in Boulogne. If the Privy Council had its way, Surrey would leave Boulogne with credit for some other good post. If he stayed till he found the French were too strong for him, as in time they would be, he would fall into disgrace and be left unemployed. But Surrey battled on. The small town of Samer was burnt; some

French transport vessels were destroyed at the mouth of the Somme; and the French garrison in the fort of Outreau was reduced to extremities. In December, 1545, Surrey was summoned to London for direct speech with the Privy Council, and was then welcomed to his father's house at Lambeth with an oration delivered by his eldest son, in words composed for the occasion by the learned tutor, Hadrianus Junius. Hurrying back to his command, he found Marshal du Biez preparing to relieve the starving garrison of Outreau. The French convoy of provisions was so strongly guarded, that when Surrey fell upon it at Saint-Étienne, on the seventh of January, 1546, with a force of six thousand Englishmen, although he scattered it at the first onset, the French Marshal leapt down from his horse, rallied his men, and, pike in hand, brought them to battle with so fierce a rush that the English fled in panic—and they fled fast, to escape into Boulogne before they could be intercepted. The Earl of Surrey never flinched from truth. His despatch to London told of this discomfiture without any tinge of evasive colouring. But he had lost faith in his men. He did not risk another fight. The king said kindly of his reverse that "who plays at a game of chance must sometimes lose"; but Surrey remained inactive. He lamented in verse his wife's absence, and was thenceforth in Boulogne against his will. A note from Secretary Paget, of the eighth of March, communicated, among other things, the king's dissent from Surrey's wish that his wife might join him. The result of his inaction was that Lord Hertford was made in his place the king's Lieutenant-General by land, and Lord Lisle was made Lieutenant-General by sea. Surrey, still Governor of Boulogne, was careful to act in accordance with their plans. On the fifteenth of March Surrey charged a French detachment, and reported: "Now I see that the Frenchman can run as fast away up the hill, as the Englishmen not long ago ran down." On the twenty-first of

The Repulse at Saint-Étienne.

March he received orders to quit Boulogne and return to England.

In June, 1546, the Duke of Norfolk submitted to the king plans of alliance between the Howards and the Seymours by marriage of the Duke of Richmond's widow, Surrey's sister, with Sir Thomas Seymour, as well as by contract of marriage between Surrey's elder son and a daughter of Lord Hertford. Both suggestions Surrey bitterly opposed, and nothing came of them, except, perhaps, resentment of his sister at the manner of his interference; for she was no good friend to him in the days when enemies were aiming at his life.* In the same month of June the treaty was signed by which Boulogne was to be restored to France, after payment of an indemnity within the next ten years. In August, French ambassadors were received at Hampton Court with friendly state, and the Earl of Surrey took his part in these and other Court festivities.

Surrey recalled from Boulogne. Dangers in England.

But the end was near. Henry VIII. was loaded with infirmities. It was evident that in a few weeks or months there would be a change of reign; the crown would pass to his son Edward, who was but a boy of eight or nine years old. Supremacy would then be to the strongest of the nobles. Norfolk was premier duke; the only other Duke was Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and he was a minor. But the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, had determined rivals in the expectation of a coming day of power. Surrey had openly said that his father

* She allowed his enemies to read literally some words written in angry scorn against the project of her marriage with Sir Thomas Seymour, bidding her "make haste to conclude the farce of her marriage. Her future husband was in high favour, she could profit by her position to insinuate herself into the good graces of the king, become his mistress, and play the part in England that the Duchess d'Étampes played in France."

should be Regent after the king's death; and men who sought advancement of the views of Luther in the Reformation of the English Church knew that the Duke of Norfolk was no good friend to their cause. Feud with the Seymours was not closed by intermarriage, as the Duke of Norfolk had desired. It had been quickened by the Earl of Surrey's frankness of opposition to his father's policy of peace. Rash words were spoken, that mixed threatenings with expectation of a day of power. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, had the king's ear, and was all-powerful in the Privy Council. As uncle to Prince Edward, Jane Seymour's son, Henry's successor, the king trusted that he would be a faithful guardian. Also, he would maintain the changes of relation between Church and State, while Norfolk and his son stood with the old nobility, and with Stephen Gardiner, by the old ways of allegiance to Rome. Prince Edward also was a Seymour, over whom the Howards must have no control. The king's life was ebbing; he was himself anxious to establish his heir safely in the guardianship of his near kindred. The Howards, in the new reign of a minor, would be willing, and might be able, to break down the power of the Seymours, whose sudden rise had been distasteful to the old nobility. And so there was no time to be lost in striking down the Duke of Norfolk and his son.

Advantage was taken of their pride of royal blood to suggest to the king that they had designs upon the throne. The Duchess of Norfolk was ready enough to prompt the belief that her husband was disloyal to his king as well as to his wife. She had resentment also against Surrey and against her daughter. In the case of the widowed Duchess of Richmond, also, there was sister against brother. The Earl of Surrey had set up at Kenninghall a painting of his arms, and had included in his blazon the arms of Edward the Confessor, as Howards before him had worn

them, by a right that King Richard II. conferred upon them.* He had himself borne them, without question, in the presence of the king. But, although no law of heraldry had been infringed, the use of royal quarterings could be conveniently used to support hostile evidence imputing aspirations to the crown.

Sir Richard Southwell, who had been one of his familiar friends, first offered himself as a direct accuser of the Earl of Surrey in matters that touched his fidelity to the king. Surrey was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, where he was confronted with Southwell, on the second of December, 1546. The presence of his accuser stirred him to resentment, and he asked that he might prove his innocence by single combat, in which he was ready to forego armour, and fight in his shirt. There was no immediate decision by the Privy Council. A day or two later, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to learn the extent of his danger. The Reformers looked on Gardiner as their worst enemy. The Duke of Norfolk's letters to him came into the hands of the Privy Council. Norfolk was summoned to London, and on the twelfth of December, when he appeared before Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, he was arrested and sent to the Tower. The duke was taken to his prison by water from Holborn. Surrey was arrested on the same day, and committed to the Tower, but, for his greater humiliation, he was paraded on foot through the City. Still on the same day, Sir Richard Southwell and two others were sent to search the house at Kenninghall for papers that might be used against the prisoners. At Kenninghall, Surrey's wife was within a month of the birth of her youngest daughter. No questions were asked of her, but Elizabeth Holland and the Duchess of Richmond were examined; and although the duchess, willing to accuse her brother, had not much to

* "E. W." viii. 3.

suggest, and Elizabeth Holland nothing more than might suffice to save herself from the pit dug for Norfolk and his son, they were both entered as witnesses to the charge of aiming at the crown, a charge that was based mainly on Surrey's painting of his arms at Kenninghall. There was a crown also in Surrey's arrangement of his quarterings which belonged to the upper part of the arms of Scotland, which the victor at Flodden had been privileged to add to his shield.* It had been a distinction used, therefore, by Surrey's grandfather and father, as well as by himself. It differed from the Tudor crown in being open, and not closed. The Duchess of Richmond said it seemed to her as if her brother meant it for the crown of England. There was absolutely no case against Surrey to be founded honestly upon his blazoning of arms."

But father and son were foredoomed, and no time could be lost, for the king's end was drawing very near. The Duke of Norfolk, as a Peer of the Realm, must be tried by the Peers. But the Earl of Surrey, who had only a courtesy title, would be tried by jury. The Privy Council, guided by the Earl of Hertford, chief enemy of these two foremost members of the old nobility opposed to him, chose the judges, and a jury at Norwich, picked for the occasion, found that Surrey "falsely, maliciously, and traitorously set up and bore the arms of Edward the Confessor, then used by the Prince of Wales, mixed up and joined with his own proper arms."

Surrey had occupied himself in the Tower with metrical versions of the seventy-second and eighty-seventh Psalms, and his Paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes as far as the fifth chapter. On the thirteenth of January he was brought to his trial in the Guildhall of the City of London, indicted for high treason. Surrey defended himself with spirit. The arms of the

Surrey's Trial and Execution.

* "E. W." viii. 4.

Confessor granted by Richard II. to Thomas Mowbray, his ancestor, had been constantly worn by Surrey in Henry's presence, and by Surrey's ancestors in the presence of the several kings, Henry's predecessors. When a witness told of a brave answer he had made to some high words of the earl's, Surrey exclaimed to the jury: "I leave it to yourselves, gentlemen, to judge whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him?" Manifest frivolity of the charges against him did not save Surrey from being found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. On the nineteenth of January, 1547, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.*

The slower process in the trial of a peer delayed the passing of the bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk until the twenty-seventh; and, as Henry VIII. died at midnight on the twenty-eighth of January, there was no time for obtaining the sign manual. The duke's life was saved.

* A very good study of the Earl of Surrey's life will be found in "*Deux Gentilhommes-Poetes de la Cour de Henry VIII, par Edmond Bapst, Secrétaire d'Ambassade,*" *Paris*, 1891. The other poet, whose history is studied in this volume by M. Bapst, is George Boleyn, Lord Rochford.

CHAPTER III.

COURTLY MAKERS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

COURTLY MAKERS in the reign of Henry VIII., among whom Wyatt and Surrey were the foremost, brought new forms of verse into our Literature. Stir of the Italian revival was felt by the chief poets of Spain, France, and England. Wars of Charles V., Francis I., and Henry VIII. brought leading men of those three nations into lively contact. Italy was a battle-ground for France and Spain, where victories of either shaped the way to intellectual submission. Thus influence of Italy spread over Western Europe, and it came to us, not always straight from its source, but sometimes, also, with modifications, through Spain and France. Courtly Makers.

Our "courtly makers" were themselves, in some degree, a product of the south of Europe. The main body of our English Literature had been national; even that part of it which was written in Latin dealt chiefly, in all its forms, with the large interests of the country. There was a Court poetry, following forms that Chaucer derived from the Arno and the Loire, and that after-comers imitated from their master, Chaucer. But Chaucer himself was, in his main work, national; and the best of those who came after him, if they were Court poets, wrote, like Dunbar, also for the nation. In Dunbar's time, at the Court of James IV. of Scotland, we have seen that there was a company of courtly makers * as numerous as that which made rhyming a fashion

* "E. W." vii. 146-148.

at the Court of Henry VIII. In Italy, Dante defined the language of the poet, distinguished from the dialects among the people, as *aulico, e cortigiano.* The poets were dependent on the princes; and when Lorenzo de' Medici became the founder of a typical Italian Court, as Prince and Poet, it was of the essence of his policy to set his courtiers rhyming and discussing lines of Petrarch, instead of busying themselves about the rights of citizens. Honour came to the courtier who showed skill in the turning of a phrase, and imitated Petrarch in the rhyming of a sonnet or canzone. So there was revival of a fashion that had never died out altogether, and, as in the old days of the troubadours, it was an added grace to a well-born man if he could show skill in writing verse.

But let this kind of skill be valued, and facility in dealing with the mechanism of verse can be acquired by thousands of men who are not poets; as facility in executing pieces on some instrument of music can be now acquired by thousands who are not musicians. Again, if many men of any class, having acquired by practice much facility in the mere art of writing verse, write many pieces, it may happen to any one of them that some day, in some happy hour, a common truth that lies close to the springs of life shall be felt so freshly and expressed so faithfully and simply in the form of verse, that it comes home to us all, and is a poem. Then, if it happen—as it happened to the courtly makers of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary—that somebody with an educated sense of Literature makes a collection of what he thinks to be the best of many such pieces—pieces written, very often, without thought of their being read by any but the fellow-courtiers among whom they passed from hand to hand—it may well be that we have, in such a collection, from this or that courtier a single poem which provokes desire in us to see more of his work, when what more he wrote may have been

fruitless rhyming. If it be true that every man has in him one poem, diffusion of skill in the mechanism of verse would give some chance of its occasional utterance by one courtly maker or another.

The first collection of these occasional pieces was made, in the year before Elizabeth's accession, in a book commonly known as "Tottel's Miscellany." It had for its formal title, "Songes and Sonnettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey, and other. Apud Richardum Tottel. 1557. Cum privilegio." "Tottel's Miscellany."

The printer represents to the reader of this volume that "the honourable style of the noble Earl of Surrey, and the weightiness of the deep-witted Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, with several graces in sundry good English writers," prove that the English tongue can earn like praise with the Italian and other, and adds: "If perhaps some mislike the stateliness of style removed from the rude skill of common ears, I ask help of the learned to defend their learned friends, the authors of this work; and I exhort the unlearned by reading to learn to be more skilful, and to purge that swine-like grossness that maketh the sweet marjoram not to smell to their delight." In this volume, ten years and more after their deaths, the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey were for the first time printed, with other pieces by contemporaries of theirs, named and unnamed.

The editor of "Tottel's Miscellany" was, no doubt, Nicholas Grimald, who inserted in the first edition forty pieces of his own, and in the second edition omitted thirty of them to make room for more pieces by other authors. Grimald was born in Huntingdonshire, in 1519, at a place which he calls Brownshold in a "funeral song on the decease of Anne his mother," which is among his contributions to the "Miscellany." He was, perhaps, the son of an Italian clerk, Nicholas Grimald.

Gianbatista Grimaldi, in the service of Empson and Dudley. Nicholas Grimald studied five years at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was B.A. in 1540. He then went to Oxford, and was there, he tells us, twice as long. It was at Oxford that he graduated as M.A., in 1544. In 1547, year of the death of Henry VIII., Nicholas Grimald was twenty-eight years old, and read theological lectures in the refectory at Christ Church. There we leave him for the present, only adding that he left Oxford to be chaplain to Bishop Ridley.

Many of the poems of Wyatt and Surrey are attempts to form a cultivated English style on an Italian, Spanish, or French model, very often by direct translation or paraphrase of some piece highly esteemed for courtly grace. Wyatt and Surrey introduced the Sonnet into English Literature. Of twenty-six sonnets by Wyatt, sixteen are translations from Petrarch, others contain reminiscences of Petrarch, or are taken from other poets, Italian or Spanish. It is doubtful whether more than two or three are wholly Wyatt's own. The Earl of Surrey introduced from Italy blank verse into our literature, but he introduced it in translation of two books of Virgil's "Æneid," the second and fourth, which had already been selected for a like form of translation into Italian.

Italian Influence on English Poetry: Wyatt and Surrey.

There was the same influence of Italy on Spain. For generations before the beginning of the sixteenth century, the thoughts of Spaniards had been drawn to Italy by loyalty to Rome. Spanish rule over Naples, after 1503, bound Italy and Spain by a new tie. After the accession of Charles V., in 1516, much of the strength of Spain was combatant upon Italian soil, and in 1529 Charles V. was crowned by the Pope, at Bologna, King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans. Lodovico Ariosto,* born at Reggio on the eighth of

Spaniards in Italy.

* "E. W" i. Introduction, pp. 31-33.

September, 1474, was then living, and forty cantos of his *Orlando Furioso*, begun in 1506, had been published in 1515, five more cantos being added by him before his death. He died on the thirteenth of January, 1533, within a fortnight of Henry VIII.'s secret marriage to Anne Boleyn. Before he began *Orlando*, Ariosto had written in his youth some comedies, of which we shall have to speak when we discuss origins of the modern drama. He wrote also sonnets and canzoni in the manner of Petrarch.

Italian Influence on Spanish Poetry: Juan Boscan.

After the union of Aragon with Castile, in 1479, under Ferdinand and Isabella, Madrid was made the capital of Spain, and the Castilian language gradually supplanted the Provençal of Aragon. Juan Boscan, born about 1495, of noble family, in the prosperous commercial city of Barcelona, where Provençal was the native dialect, came, in 1519, to the Court of Charles V. at Granada. He had charge of the early education of the famous or infamous Duke of Alva. In 1526 Andrea Navigiero, a learned poet as well as a statesman, being in Granada as ambassador from Venice to Charles V., asked Boscan why he did not endeavour to write in Castilian such sonnets and such other forms of verse as were used by the best Italian authors. Boscan dwelt on the suggestion, then tried his hand. He found the new style difficult, but at last thought that he had succeeded; then he proceeded zealously, and thus became the introducer of the Sonnet and of other forms of Italian verse into Spanish Literature. Boscan died at Perpignan in 1540, two years before Thomas Wyatt, his English contemporary. His poems, which had been current before in manuscript, like those of Wyatt and Surrey, were first published at Barcelona by his widow, in 1543—that is to say, about four years before the death of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Juan Boscan's poems included a version of the tale of Hero and Leander, in about three thousand lines of the

first blank verse written in Spain. Thus, the movement towards a refinement of verse by imitation of the forms used by the best Italian poets was at the same date as distinctly marked in Spanish as in English Literature.

Garcilasso de la Vega died but thirty-one years old, in October, 1536, killed in the attack on a village during Charles V.'s disastrous invasion of Provence. Charles executed all the survivors of the fifty peasants who, in defending their homes, killed Garcilasso. This poet followed Boscan in writing sonnets and other pieces of verse constructed wholly on Italian models. He wrote thirty-seven sonnets, and was especially distinguished for his pastorals. In these he imitated Sannazaro, and in connection with our early pastoral verse we shall have to speak of him again. Sir Thomas Wyatt, as ambassador to Charles V., would come to know the Spanish poets, and would be encouraged, by the success of Boscan and of Garcilasso de la Vega, in his own endeavour to refine the style of English poetry.

Garcilasso de la Vega.

Relation between English and Spanish poets.

Such imitations brought into Spain, as into England, Italian preference for the iambic line, but this produced more marked change in the Spanish poetry than in the English. There came into Spain, as into England, not only the form of the Petrarchan sonnet and canzone, but also the *terza rima* of Dante and the *ottava rima* of Boccaccio. From that octave rime, it will be remembered, Chaucer had shaped the Troilus verse* which held until Elizabeth's reign the corresponding place in English Literature. Ariosto now had used the octave rime, and had established its predominance. It had become chief measure of the Italians for long tales in verse. In the dedication to the Earl of Surrey of the book on the Resurrection of the Dead† by his old teacher, Clerke, who gave him his first knowledge of Italian,

* "E. W." v. 32. † "E. W." viii. 8.

there is some praise of Surrey's translations from the Spanish.

In Portugal, contemporary with Boscan, was Saa de Miranda, born at Coimbra in 1495. He abandoned the Portuguese style, and wrote in the Italian manner sonnets and lyrical poems, pastorals and comedies, partly in his native language, chiefly in Castilian. He lived to the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession—a year longer than Gil Vicente, who shares with him a place in the history of the beginning of the modern comedy. New life was gathering new power. Luis de Camoens, the author of the great national poem on the Lusitanians, *Os Lusiadas*, was a youth of two-and-twenty in the year of the death of Henry VIII. He closed his life of misfortune in a hospital in 1579.

Italian Influence in Portugal: Saa de Miranda.

In France there was the same movement. Clément Marot, born in 1495, loved the old French singers well enough to begin his career as editor of the *Roman de la Rose*. But he earned the foremost place among Court poets by the wit and grace of his songs, balades, rondeaux, epistles, elegies, touched by the new influences of the Italian Renaissance. Stirred also by the movement towards Church reform, he incurred imprisonments for sympathy with the reformers in attack upon corruptions of discipline within the Church. Of the religious turn given by Marot to forms of pastoral derived from Italy and Spain we shall have hereafter to speak, when we find his pastorals, with those of Mantuan, a source of inspiration to the genius of Spenser. Mellin de Saint-Gelais, eight years older than Marot, survived him fourteen years. He died, aged seventy-one, in the year of Elizabeth's accession, 1558; but Marot died, aged forty-nine, in 1544, at a date about half-way between the deaths of Wyatt and Surrey.

Italian Influence on Poetry in France: Clément Marot.

Mellin de Saint-Gelais was a Court poet who had spent some years of his youth in Italian universities, and it was he who introduced from Italy the sonnet into the Literature of France. Pierre de Ronsard, who was about twenty-three years old at the time of the death of Henry VIII., continued the work of refinement. He became chief of a group of fellow poets who not only cultivated the Italian sonnet as an invention at once pleasant and learned, and gave first rank to the Italian poets among moderns, but who sought also to reform the literature and the language of their country into fine accord with the old classical models.

Mellin de Saint-Gelais.

Pierre de Ronsard.

A chief companion of Ronsard's in this work, and the author of a manifesto, written on behalf of this young school of poets in 1548 and published in 1549, was Joachim du Bellay, who wrote sonnets to Olive (anagram of the name of Mademoiselle de Viole), and sonnets under the name of "Regrets," with other pieces, including a poem on old Rome that was paraphrased by Spenser in his early years.

Joachim du Bellay.

Sir Thomas Wyatt's sonnet of "The Lover's Life compared to the Alps" is imitated in every detail of the original conceit from a sonnet by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, beginning "*Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine*," Wyatt's third line, "For high be they and high is my desire," answering almost exactly to the third line of his original, "*Haut est leur chef, et haut est mon désir.*" The conceit, also, of the eight lines wherein "The lover complaineth that deadly sickness cannot help his affection," where the dart of death strikes on the dart of Cupid that has already entered his flesh, and drives it in deeper, Wyatt took from Mellin de Saint-Gelais." *

Wyatt's Translations from Mellin de Saint-Gelais

* "Alors la Mort, qui regnoit en maints lieux
Pour me navrer, son fort arc enfonça ;

Another of those sonnets by Wyatt which are not taken from Petrarch is taken from two of the Strambotti of Serafino. * Wyatt shaped, also, following Italian custom, poetical fancies each into a single stanza of *ottava rima*, treated as a minor sonnet. He wrote about two dozen of such pieces, and four of them are translated from Serafino.†

Wyatt's Translations from Serafino Cimino.

Mais de malheur sa flesche m'offença
Au propre lieu où Amour mit la sienne,
Et, sans entrer, seulement avança
Le traict d'Amour en la playe ancienne."

—*Mellin de Saint-Gelais.*

"He drew his bow, with arrows sharp and keen,
And strake the place where love had hit before:
And drave the first dart deeper more and more."

—*Sir T. Wyatt.*

See in "Anglia," Band xiii. (1891) pp. 77–8, the note on Sir Thomas Wyatt and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, by Dr. E. Koeppel, of Munich.

* "My heart I gave thee not to do it pain,
But to conserve it was to thee i-taken," etc.

—*Wyatt.*

"Il cor ti diedi non che'l tormentassi,
Ma che fosse da te ben conservato," etc.

—*Serafino.*

Wyatt's versions from Serafino were first pointed out by Dr. Nott.

† This is one, to which I add the original, alike in metre as in thought and phrase—

"He is not dead that sometime had a fall,
The sun returns that hid was under cloud,
And when Fortúne hath spit out all her gall,
I trust good luck to me shall be allowed;
For I have seen a ship in haven fall
After that storm hath broke both mast and shroud:
The willow eke, that stoopeth with the wind,
Doth rise again, and greater wood doth bind."

"S'io son caduto in terra i' non son morto.
Ritorna il sol, benchè talhor si cele.

Serafino Cimino, of Aquila, died at Rome in the year 1500. His "Strambotti" were so many small fanciful conceits. The word was applied in Italian poetry to small, fanciful love songs, and especially to those confined within the eight lines, rhyming *a b a b a b c c*, of *ottava rima.*

The fourteen lines of the Sonnet, with the lines arranged in the form fixed by the practice of Petrarch, are, for general use, not only the most ingenious, but the best device ever contrived for musical expression of a single worthy thought. So long as their use was confined to the ingenious expression of love fancies—love being regarded by the poet, not as the most sacred of his own earthly possessions, but as the public bell on which he was to show his skill in ringing changes—the sonnet could be praised only with imperfect understanding of its powers of expression, for it was only now and then put to

The Sonnet.

Spero mi darà il ciel qualche conforto,
Poichè Fortuna avrà sfogato il fele.
Ch'ho visto nave ritornasi in porto
Da poi che rotte ha in mar tutte le vele:
El salce ancora il vento abbassa e piega,
Poi si ridrizza, e gli altri legni lega."

The other octave rime stanzas taken by Wyatt from Serafino are (1), "To his Love from whom he had her Gloves"; (2), "The Lover compareth his Heart to the overcharged Gun"; and (3) the piece setting forth that pleasure is mixed with every pain, beginning—

"Venomous thorns that are so sharp and keen
Sometime bear flowers fair and fresh of hue;
Poison ofttime is put in medicine,
And causeth health in man for to renew,"

which answers to Serafino's stanza beginning—

"Ogni pungente e venenosa spina
Si vede a qualche tempo esser fiorita;
Crudel veneno, posto in medicina,
Più volte torna l'uom da morte 'n vita."

its highest use.* The fourteen five-accented iambic lines of a sonnet are divided into eight and six: the eight lines are divided again into two quatrains; and the six into two tercets. Each of these parts has its own use. The two quatrains are for the introduction of the thought to be expressed. They prepare the mind for its emphatic delivery. That they may be as musical as possible, the two quatrains play on a single pair of rhymes, arranged alike in each. The best arrangement is that which was used by Petrarch, *a b b a, a b b a;* but if the first quatrain be arranged *a b a b*, the second must exactly answer to it. The second part of the sonnet—the part consisting of six lines arranged in two tercets—differs from the first in giving utmost freedom to the poet. If the power of expression be a little cramped in the first eight lines, by restriction to a single pair of rhymes for music's sake, yet these lines are only prefatory, and there is no serious thwarting of the purpose of the song. But in the closing six lines the mechanism of the sonnet leaves the poet utmost freedom for the clear, full, and emphatic expression of his thought. The rhymes are three—as many as they can be—and they may be interlaced in each tercet in any order, so long as the second tercet completes the rhymes of the first without forming a couplet anywhere. Thus the order may be *c d e*, followed in the second tercet by *c d e*

* The singularly happy form of the sonnet caused Joachim du Bellay, in his "*Defense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise*," licensed in 1548 and published in 1549, to exempt it from his condemnation of other old forms that had arisen together with it, and were then to be abandoned for a study of the ancients: "*Lis donc et relis premièrement, ô Poëte futur, les exemplaires Grecs et Latins; puis me laisse toutes ces vieilles Poésies Françoises aux Jeux Floraux de Toulouse et au Puy de Rouen; comme Rondeaux, Balades, Virelais, Chants Royaux, Chansons, et autres telles épiceries qui corrompent le goût de notre langue et ne servent sinon à porter témoignage de notre ignorance. . . . Sonne moi ces beaux Sonnets, non moins docte que plaisante invention Italienne, pour lesquels tu as Pétrarque et quelques modernes Italiens.*"

or *c e d*, or *d c e* or *d e c*, but not by *e c d* or *e d c*, because either of those arrangements would rhyme the first line of the second tercet with the last of the first. The words of the closing line should be chosen and ordered with especial care, and weighted with as much of the main thought as can be expressed simply and worthily, without the artificial neatness of an epigram. Petrarch retained, of course, freedom to use only two rhymes in the tercets, but when he used them they were always interlaced in the form *a b a*, *b a b*, which is allied to *terza rima*.

Sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey.

Of the sonnets written by Wyatt and Surrey, who in Henry VIII.'s time first introduced that form of verse into our English Literature, Wyatt's come nearest to the Petrarchan form in structure of their rhymes. Wyatt observed generally the form of the two opening quatrains, and he observed the use of three rhymes in the second part of the sonnet; but he had not observed Petrarch's avoidance of couplets in the shaping of that second part. He not only closed every sonnet with a couplet, but he usually brought into the last six lines two couplets by rhyming the tercets *a b b*, *a c c*, which is the method he preferred. Surrey observed no rule at all, but rhymed at will. He contrived in his own way to express in fourteen lines the spirit of a sonnet of Petrarch's, without heed to its technical construction. Some of the Earl of Surrey's sonnets, like that in description and praise of Geraldine, "From Tuscane came my lady's worthy race," * have the system of rhyme used afterwards by many English poets of Elizabeth's reign—even by Shakespeare himself—under the name of sonnet. They consist only of the form, *a b a b*, *c d c d*, *e f e f*, *g g*, three stanzas of alternate rhymes, each with its own separate pair, and a closing couplet. In poems so constructed there is no use made of the fine mechanism of the sonnet. The

* "E. W." viii. 26, 27, *n*.

resemblance is confined to the fact that these also are pieces each expressive of one thought in fourteen ten-syllabled iambic lines. There are other sonnets by Surrey in which one pair of rhymes alternates through twelve lines, and is then followed by the closing couplet. It is so in the "Description of Spring, wherein each thing renews save only the Lover," in the sonnet on "The Frailty and Hurtfulness of Beauty," and in "A Complaint by Night of the Lover not beloved." Wyatt and Surrey introduced the sonnet, but if we are to ascribe the credit of its introduction to one poet only, it must be Wyatt rather than Surrey. For Wyatt was the elder man, and probably he was the first to write this form of verse, as certainly he showed the better observation of its structure.

Surrey's Blank Verse.

The Earl of Surrey, however, stands alone as the first English writer of Blank Verse. He translated two books of the "Æneid," the second and fourth, into ten-syllabled lines of metre without rhyme, and this experiment was founded upon one of the new fashions bred of the classical revival in Italian literature. It may have been immediately suggested to him by a translation into Italian blank verse of the same two books of Virgil by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, or more probably by the poet Francesca Maria Molza, who allowed the cardinal to take the credit of it. Molza was a bright poet in Latin and Italian, who closed in 1544 a life shortened by dissipation. The taste for unrhymed verses, called *versi sciolti* (untied or free verses) was new even in Italy. It came of endeavour to follow Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and all Latin poets, in the use of carefully-constructed metrical lines without rhyme. In Tuscan literature unrhymed verse existed, indeed, at the outset. It has been said that the prose of Boccaccio in the "Decameron" was largely intermixed with *versi sciolti*, not distinguished from prose in the writing, or afterwards in the printing. Among the most notable of early examples was the *Cantico del Sole*

("Canticle of the Sun,"), by St. Francis of Assisi, which, although written as prose, admits of an arrangement into lines of seven and eleven syllables. The brethren were also taught to sing it by Fra Pacifico, a poet and musician of that time. But the Provençals being incapable of this form of verse, the Tuscans almost ceased to use it. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appeared in Italy with the new desire for a refinement of the literature by study of the ancient classics. Lines were accentuated, chiefly as iambics, with a sense of quantity, which could be satisfied more nearly in Italian than in English. The final vowel in Italian puts into the blank verse answering to ours of ten syllables eleven syllables, with the last syllable short. Ariosto gave in his comedies great lightness to his verse by making at the end of a line two short syllables, instead of one, trip after the last accent. This blank measure of his own device is said to be of *endecasillibi sdruccioli* (sliding hendecasyllables). Trissino used unrhymed lines of eleven syllables, with the last unaccented, in his tragedy of *Sofonisba*, begun about 1515, and printed in 1529. Alamanni was another active cultivator of blank verse, and used it freely in his *Opere Toscane*, published in 1532. All this was known to the Earl of Surrey, as a reader of the best Italian literature of his time. Trissino's attempt to extend the use of blank verse to the epic poem in his *Italia Liberata*, which nobody wished to imitate, probably did not affect any writing of the Earl of Surrey's; for the first part of that poem was not published until some months after Surrey's execution, and it was not a work, like a sonnet or song, to be copied quickly and passed freely among courtiers from hand to hand. But there were Ariosto's comedies; there was Trissino's tragedy; there were Alamanni's elegies; and, more particularly, there was the version of the same two books of Virgil, in Italian blank verse, ascribed to the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici Boscan was introducing blank verse into Spain, among his

other imitations of Italian fashions, at the time when Surrey was first writing it in England. We have already seen that the first blank verse in Spain was Boscan's version of the story of Hero and Leander, some 3,000 lines long, published in 1543.

In Surrey's translation there are passages which clearly show that he was acquainted with Gavin Douglas's version of the "Æneid" into heroic couplet, although that work was not printed till 1553. Long as it was, more than one copy of it may have been in circulation at the Court of Henry VIII., upon which Gavin Douglas had been in attendance when he died in September, 1522.*

Wyatt's best work is in his imitation of a satire by his contemporary, Luigi Alamanni. Alamanni, born in 1495, was forty-seven years old when Wyatt died, and he himself lived to be sixty-one. He died in 1556. He was of a good Florentine family, and after joining in his youth an unsuccessful conspiracy against Giulio de' Medici, he escaped to Venice. Then, after a short imprisonment at Brescia, from which he was freed by intervention of a friend, Luigi Alamanni went to Andrea Dorea, at Genoa. In 1523 Giulio de' Medici became Pope, as Clement VII., and Alamanni, leaving Italy for France, found favour at the Court of Francis I. Four years later, when the Florentines expelled the Medici and re-established a republic, Luigi Alamanni went back home, and was made Commissary-General of the Florentine army. Alamanni counselled Florence, for her own safety and the better hope of Italy, to hold with the Emperor and Pope. His fellow-citizens preferred to hold with France. Then Florence was besieged by the Emperor for eleven months, and fell, in August, 1530, after a stout defence. Alessandro de' Medici was set up in tyrannical authority; he banished Alamanni as a rebel, and Alamanni spent the last

Luigi Alamanni.

* "E. W." vii. 163.

twenty-five years of his life at the Court of France. There he was honoured, and sometimes employed on embassies, until his death in 1556. He died at Amboise, when the Court happened to be staying there. Thus Alamanni, living at the Court of France, was well known to the courtly makers of Henry VIII.'s time. He was an Italian poet held in just repute—an exile for his love of liberty. He wrote verse of almost every kind, including two tragedies a Virgilian poem, *la Coltivazione*, and the Satires, from which Wyatt took one as suited to the utterance of his own spirit of freedom. Wyatt's satire on "The Courtier's Life" was founded on the tenth satire of Alamanni, and was written, like its original, in the *terza rima* that had been made classical by Dante. It is a five-accented iambic measure in triplets, rhyming *a b a, b c b, c d c, d e d, e f e*, &c., which has not taken firm root in England, though it is well suited to the expression of weighty thought. Wyatt liked this measure so well that he imitated Alamanni in its use, and in his tone of thought, when writing two other satires, one—on "The Mean and Sure Estate"—having for its motive Horace's fable of the Town and Country Mouse, the other—"How to use the Court"—founded on Horace's fifth satire of the Second Book. But though Wyatt thus built upon ground taken from modern Florence and from ancient Rome, he owed to them only the ground rent for buildings of his own.

Wyatt's Satires.

The courtly makers of Henry VIII.'s time were not wholly given up to the work of refining English verse upon the principles of the Renaissance. They loved Chaucer, and showed their regard for him by adopting many of his thoughts and phrases. They loved music, and shaped words into the forms of old French or old English song. They shared the love of the people for their old ballad measure in lines of six, seven, or eight accents, with or without

National Poetry: Effects of the Renaissance.

recurring rhyme within the line as well as at the end; and with or without—usually without—the division of each long line into two short ones. All the difference made by the refining touch of the Renaissance was a little more care in the numbering of syllables, where formerly the measure between accents was judged by the ear according to a swift speech that abounded in slides and elisions. Not only was "other" shortened to "o'r," but also "father" to "fa'r"; not only "ever" to "e'er," but "river" to "ri'er"; "give him" on paper would be "gi'e'm" upon the lips; while, on the other hand, a broad vowel pronunciation would make two syllables of a word like "na-y," or a well-rolled "r" would cut into two syllables a word like "fi-rst"—

> "The fi-rst word the abbot spake
> Hast thou brought my pa-y?"

says the old Robin Hood ballad, in which we hear of Robin that

> "He smote off the sheriff's head
> With his b-right b-rand."

Past tenses ran their "ed" into the final "t" of verbs ending in "t"; "awaited" on the paper was "await" in speaking such a line as "Ever he awaited that gentle knight." Here the first words were, on the lips, not "ever he awaited," but "e'er he await." There was no barbarism, no want of ear for music, where we now note a redundance of syllables in some of the lines of our old English ballad poetry. The lines as they were pronounced, except when they may reach us in corrupted copies, made true music to the ear. The only change made by the courtly makers in their use of the old ballad measures of the people was that they scanned their lines in harmony with a less hurried and more courtly way of speech. In this the finer poetry only passed over the syllables habitually run together, and those that we still find

too weak to serve in marking time. When afterwards the speech of townsmen became subject to a more extended notion of formal politeness, and educated people were expected to say "ever," "never," "over," leaving to the rustics "o'er" and "ne'er" and "e'er," those forms, once retained because they were so prevalent that they could not be discarded without affectation, came to be used by later poets as part of the diction of Apollo, so that therein he who rides Pegasus is now at one with Hodge who drives the plough.

In Wyatt and Surrey, then, the line of six accents—the Alexandrine—becomes more distinctly than before a line of twelve syllables, in iambic measure; and in the line of seven accents—the Septenar—the fourteen syllables are more distinctly counted. The longest line in the old English ballad poetry, with eight accents in iambic measure, contains sixteen syllables, and may be regarded as an acatalectic iambic tetrameter. It might have any number of syllables on paper in old English ballads, if there were only sixteen on the voice. This line, for example, from the ballad of "The Rising of the North," runs on the voice—

"Earl Percy's into's garden gone, and after'm walks his fair ladie."

In the use of our old ballad measures by Wyatt, Surrey, and the courtly poets of their time, few elisions are used except those which are still demanded by the poet's ear. We have the measure of eight accents in a piece by one of those poets that begins—

"Sith singing gladdeth oft the hearts of them that feel the pangs of love,
And for the while doth ease their smarts, myself I shall the same way prove;
And though that love hath smit the stroke whereby is lost my liberty,
Which by no means I may revoke, yet shall I sing, how pleasantly!"

A favourite measure, drawn from old romance and ballad by the courtly poets of Henry VIII.'s time, produced its music by alternating the Alexandrine with the Septenar. This was called Poulter's measure, because the two lines contain thirteen accents, and poulterers sold birds thirteen to the dozen, as bakers sold loaves thirteen to the dozen, for the profit of those hawking them from house to house. Surrey and Wyatt both used this measure. It is the measure of Surrey's playful poem that begins—

"Wrapt in my careless cloak, as I walk to and fro,
I see how Love can show what force there reigneth in his bow;"

that proceeds to describe "the subtle usage of women towards their lovers," and ends—

"Lord, what abuse is this? who can such women praise,
That for their glory do devise to use such crafty ways?
I that among the rest do sit and mark the row
Find that in her is greater craft than is in twenty mo;
Whose tender years, alas, with wiles so well are sped,
What will she do when hoary hairs are powdered in her head!"

The English in Henry VIII.'s time maintained their distinction as a people that loved music. The king himself played well on the lute and virginals, and sang at sight. He had in his chapel an unequalled choir, with which in his younger days he often sang, and for which he composed two complete services. There remains a composition of his for three voices, "*Quam pulchra es, et quam decora.*" There remains also a song book used by him containing words of pieces that he sang. Fourteen of these pieces are in words of his own, and there are notes of tunes, including sixteen tunes of which Henry VIII. was himself the author.*

Music and Song.

King Henry VIII.'s Song Book.

* Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 31,922, bought by the Museum of Bernhard Quaritch in 1882. It contains, on 127 leaves, fifty-nine songs,

There are pieces in this book by William Cornysshe; a musician of the Chapel Royal who set carols for Christmas and contrived pageants under Henry VII. He wrote in that king's time a ballad against Empson, for which he was imprisoned in the Fleet. He was Master of the Children of the Chapel, and invented pageants, interludes, and masques for the Court in the earlier years of Henry VIII.'s reign. He was taken, with twelve children of the chapel, to devise pageants and make music at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The king liked Cornysshe so much that in one year (1516) he gave him for playing at Court with the children of the chapel £200, instead of the usual £6 13s. 4d. Other writers of songs in the king's book were Thomas Fardyng, a gentleman of the chapel, Dr. Cooper, William Daggere, Ffluyd, Rysbye, and Pygott. Twenty songs are without authors' names. Music also was set to syllables that touched no other sense. Henry VIII.'s book contained, for example, all the syllables of the "Hey nony nony," as if they were four lines of a song—

William Cornysshe.

Thomas Fardyng and others.

> "Hey nony nony nony nony no hey nony nony
> Nony nony no hey nony nony nony no.
> Hey nony nony noy nony no.
> Hey nony nony nony noy no hey nony nony no."

orty transcripts of song music without the words, and seven with the words. The poems have been transcribed by Dr. Ewald Flügel, of Leipzig, and edited by him in the twelfth volume of *Anglia*, 1889, pp. 225-272. Other information about the collections of songs made in Henry VIII.'s time is given by Dr. Flügel in pp. 585-597 of the same volume of *Anglia*. That journal, devoted to an exact study of English Language and Literature, was founded in 1878 by Professor Richard Paul Wülker, of Leipzig, and has been edited since 1889 by Dr. Ewald Flügel and Dr. Gustav Schermer, also of the University of Leipzig. Let me again direct the attention of English students to this excellent journal, and to the *Englische Studien*, founded about the same time by Dr. Eugen Kölbing, Professor of English Philology at Breslau, and still edited by him.

And "troly lo," like "nony no," had its syllables of sound apart from sense arranged into sweet interlacements that gave various enjoyment to the ear. Besides the three-man song, "Pastime with good company," written by Henry VIII., and placed first in his manuscript book, there are short love-songs of his with much descant of musical repetitions. Did he sing this song of his own to each of his wives before marriage?—

Henry VIII as a Song Writer.

"Green groweth the holly, so doth the ivy,
Though winter blasts blow never so high
Green groweth the holly."
(*Repeated three times.*)

"As the holly groweth green and never changeth hue,
So am I and ever hath been unto my lady true.
Green groweth the holly, &c.

As the holly groweth green with ivy all alone,
When flowerys can not be seen, and greenwood leaves be gone,
Green groweth the holly, &c.

Now unto my lady promise to her I make
From all other only to her I me betake.
Green groweth the holly, &c.

Adieu mine own lady, adieu my special,
Who hath my heart truly, be sure, and ever shall.
Green groweth the holly, so doth the ivy,
Though winter blasts blow never so high,
Green groweth the holly."

Thus, we see that the king himself is not to be omitted from the company of courtly makers. Among the pieces in this song book of the king's is one, "Ah, Robin, gentle Robin," that in "Tottel's Miscellany" is ascribed to Wyatt, but has here attached to it the name of Cornysshe. This may only mean that it was Cornysshe who set it to music.

One feature more is to be noted in the poems of the

courtly makers of Henry VIII.'s reign, and that is the witness borne by them to the religious side of English life. This shows itself in all the more serious poetry of Surrey, Wyatt, and the other writers, known or unknown, of the pieces gathered into "Tottel's Miscellany." The Earl of Surrey turned into Poulters' measure five chapters of the Book of Ecclesiastes, and several of the Psalms, with Proems to two of them by which they were applied to his own need of spiritual aid. Sir Thomas Wyatt sought like aid to himself in his translation of the Penitential Psalms. But, while Surrey turned Psalms of David into a form allied to the old national ballad measures, that was used afterwards for psalms meant to be sung in churches, Wyatt's version of the Penitential Psalms was into forms taken from Italy. The psalms themselves were in *terza rima;* Wyatt's own proem, and the connecting verses between psalm and psalm, were in stanzas of *ottava rima.* But in the spirit of such work there was complete accord between Surrey and Wyatt. For his own part in it, Wyatt's best praise was from his friend Surrey, who wrote—

Religious Poetry.

"The great Macedón, that out of Persie chased
Dariús, of whose huge power all Asie rong,
In the rich ark dan Homer's rimes he placed,
Who faynéd gestes of heathen princes song.
What holy grave, what worthy sepulture,
To Wiattes Psalmes should Christians then purchase,
Where he doth paint the lively faith and pure,
The steadfast hope, the sweet return to grace,
Of just David, by perfite penitence.
Where rulers may see in a mirror clere
The bitter frute of false concupiscence:
How Jewry bought Urias death full dere.
In princes' hartes God's scourge imprinted depe
Ought them awake out of their sinfull slepe."

CHAPTER IV.

MASQUES AND INTERLUDES.—RISE OF THE MODERN DRAMA.—THE FIRST ENGLISH COMEDY.

MASQUES were in high favour at Court during the reign of Henry VIII. Disguisings formed part of the pleasures of a Court even so early as the reign of Edward III., who kept Christmas at Guildford in 1348 with mumming in masks and fancy dresses. Francis I. and Henry VIII. took pleasure in costly entertainments. In the first Christmas kept by Henry VIII., in 1510, the disguisings cost £584 19s. 7d., and in the next Christmas, 1511, there was a costly pageant, thus described by Hall:— "Against the Twelfth Day, or the Day of the Epiphany, at night, before the banquet in the hall at Richmond, was a pageant devised like a Mountain, glittering by night as though it had been all of gold and set with stones; on the top of the which mountain was a tree of gold, the branches and boughs frysed with gold, spreading on every side over the mountain with roses and pomegranates: the which mountain was with vices brought up towards the King, and out of the same came a lady apparelled in cloth of gold, and the children of honour, called the henchmen, which were freshly disguised and danced a morris before the King, and that done re-entered the mountain: and then was the wassail or banquet brought in, and so brake up Christmas." Here the dancing was not by the king and his nobles, but by their henchmen or pages. At the same festival the minstrels also

Disguisings. Masques.

danced in disguises, but the king and his lords entered the hall in a car upon wheels, which was pulled to pieces by the people in rough scramble for its finery. The king desired his nobles, after dancing, to tear the gold letters from their dresses and throw them to the crowd; but the crowd broke in and stripped the king "to his hosen and doublet; and all his companions in likewise." The king's guard had to interfere.

This closing scramble for a largess from the decorations was a part of the old custom, arising, like it, from the Carnival. The disguisings were furnished with costly dresses, often with addition of machinery, but they were presented by the children of the chapel or by other servants of the Court. When Henry VIII. and his nobles entered the room at Christmas, 1511, in a fine decorated car, and danced with the ladies, they had gone very far in the direction of the masque of 1512-13, which first brought the word "mask" into use by the side of the old word, "disguising."

The more elaborate masque was first added to the luxuries of the English Court in 1512-13, as a new fashion out of Italy, with characters assumed by lords and ladies. Edward Hall has recorded that at Greenwich, in 1512, "on the day of the Epiphany at night, the king, with eleven others, was disguised after the manner of Italy, called a Mask, a thing not seen before in England; they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banquet done, these masquers came in with six gentlemen disguised in silk, bearing staff torches, and desired the ladies to dance; some were content, and some refused; and after they had danced and communed together, as the fashion of the mask is, they took their leave and departed." Here the masquing was all by the king himself, with gentlemen and ladies of his Court; for the true masque was a device for social pleasure, in which there was no more thought of hiring the performers than we

should have to-day of paying servants to dance for us at a ball.

Holinshed has described a masque at Greenwich in Henry VIII.'s time, with mechanical contrivances and action in dumb show. A castle was built in the hall of the palace, with towers, gates, battlements, and mimic preparations for a siege. It was inscribed on the front, "La Forteresse Dangereuse." Six ladies, clothed in russet satin, overlaid with leaves of gold, and with gold coifs and caps, looked from the castle windows. The castle was so made that it could be moved about the hall for admiration by the company. Then entered the king with five knights in embroidered vestments, spangled and plated with gold. They besieged the castle until the ladies surrendered, and came out to dance with them. The ladies then led the knights into the castle, which immediately vanished, and the company retired.

The Italian Masque grew out of the Carnival, and was, at first, especially associated with the Feast of the Epiphany, old Christmas Day, our Twelfth Day. The English custom of drawing Twelfth Night characters, that came down into the nineteenth century, was in some sense a survival from the customs out of which our early masque arose. Before its general limitation to a few days before Ash Wednesday, Carnival began on the day after the Feast of Epiphany, and lasted until midnight on Shrove Tuesday, Lent beginning with Ash Wednesday. This whole time was, among the rich, a time of feasts. The rich began at Epiphany their season of festivity, while those who had to earn their livings were content with their own limitation of the costly season to the last week before Lent.

There was at Carnival time in the Italian cities, more especially in Venice and in Florence, an almost unvaried form of song and dance by women habited to represent the Virgin. This early usage was developed into many

forms of song and dance, associated with many new inventions, classical and mythological. The costly continuation of the outdoor masquing, by men of the highest rank, in their own palaces, to close the day after their banqueting, was developed with great ingenuity in Florence at the Court of Lorenzo de' Medici. The Renaissance gave prominence to classical mythology. Emblems and allegories were in highest favour.

In the first masques there was dumb-show and dancing, but no speaking; though poets, after a few years, began to annex that form of entertainment as a new province to Literature by adding to it the charm of dialogue, with finer delicacy of invention. But a piece like that described to us by Edward Hall as part of the pomp of Henry VIII.'s Court, in May, 1527, set forth in a costly banqueting house designed and built for the occasion, was acted and spoken by the children of the chapel as an Interlude, enriched with the pomp of the old disguisings: "There entered eight of the King's chapel with a song, and brought with them one richly apparelled; and in likewise at the other side entered eight other of the said chapel, bringing with them another person likewise apparelled. These two persons played a dialogue, the effect whereof was whether Riches were better than Love, and when they could not agree upon a conclusion, each called in three knights all armed. Three of them would have entered the gate of the arch in the middle of the chamber, and the other three resisted; and suddenly between the six knights, out of the arch fell down a bar all gilt, at the which bar the six knights fought a fair battle, and then they were departed, and so went out of the place. Then came in an Old Man with a silver beard, and he concluded that Love and Riches both be necessary for Princes; that is to say, by Love to be obeyed and served, and with Riches to reward his lovers and friends; and with this conclusion the dialogue ended."

Interludes.

The first formal mention of "players of interludes" was in the year 1464, in a sumptuary law of the reign of Edward IV., which excepts from its restrictions certain persons, including henchmen, minstrels, and "players in their interludes." The rolls of Winchester College show an entry, in 1466, of a payment of four shillings to four *interludentes* and a citharist. Such players were usually servants of some great household, sometimes, perhaps, of a corporation, or they might be free actors who in any town agreed to join wits as common players. Henry VII. had actors at Court who were set down in the book of Exchequer payments as "the King's players of interludes." The first known patent of a Master of the Revels was that granted by Henry VIII. in March, 1546, to Sir Thomas Cawarden, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, at a salary of ten pounds a year.

The Interlude was named, probably, from its position among other festive pleasures, being presented "after banquet done," or between meat and the banquet or dessert. It usually was satire in dialogue, or it might be some short allegory, ingeniously written for the entertainment of the company, and spoken by persons who assumed different characters; but there was no working out of a dramatic fable. Generation after generation of Italian villagers had been thus entertained in rustic farces. In Spain the Constable de Luna, who was executed in 1453, was said by his chronicler to have had a great deal of inventive faculty, and to have been "much given to making inventions and (*entremeses*) interludes for festivals." In France there was the fraternity of the *Enfants sans Souci*, formed of lively young men of good society, who acted jests upon the follies of their day. They were an offshoot from the French Festival of Fools, which burlesqued religion in the churches about Christmas time; but passing from the Church to the World, they called Humanity "Folly," and their President the "Prince of Fools." Charles VI., about the time of the

death of Chaucer, had given them special privilege to act their jests in public places. There were also the Clerks of the Bazoche; these were the law clerks of the palace, whom Philip the Fair had formed in 1303 into a half-burlesque guild, called the Bazoche, for judgment of dispute between attorneys' clerks, or between them and other people. The Clerks of the Bazoche acted farces before the king on a marble table at the end of the great hall of the palace. In 1516 the Bazoche was forbidden to refer to princes and princesses of the Court; in 1536 all personality was forbidden under penalties; and in 1548 it was required that the players of these entertainments should submit their manuscript to the Court fifteen days before acting, and omit passages marked by the Court censor, on pain of prison and corporal punishment.

Such entertainments, of which in France very free use was made for political and social satire, were represented at Henry VIII.'s Court by the interludes of John Heywood. Three, printed in 1533, were "The Play of Love"; "The Play of the Weather"; and "A Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte."

John Heywood.

A copy of John Heywood's "Play of Love," printed at London by John Waley, is in the Bodleian Library. Its characters are: the Lover not Beloved; the Woman Beloved, not Loving; the Lover Beloved; and one Neither Lover nor Loved, who is the Vice. The piece is a contest in dialogue as to the relative happiness or unhappiness of these several states. The Lover not Beloved, first entering, greets the company with excuse for his sudden appearance—

John Heywood's "Play of Love."

> "May think me rude, perceiving of what sort
> Ye seem to be, and of what stately port."

But he knows nothing; there is only one whom he seeks,

and she is all the world to him if he but find her. He declares his pain, but the Woman Beloved not Loving enters, and argues that her trouble is the greater. Next comes the Lover Beloved, in rapture, but he is followed by the man Neither Loving nor Loved, who argues that his state of peace is more to be desired than the unquiet of the Lover's life. There is much discussion on the question. He who neither loves nor is loved, having gone out, returns with a pan of lighted squibs on his head, and alarms the Lover Beloved with a false tale of his lady's house on fire, to show how soon he is made wretched. It is at last decided that there is an even balance of pleasure for the Lover Beloved and the free man who has no such love to trouble him. The last lines of the piece remind the hearers of the Christmas season, with suggestion that the only love which breeds no contest is the love of that Lord of Lords whose joyful and blessed birth is now remembered.

Heywood's "Play of the Weather."

The characters in John Heywood's "Play of the Weather" are Jupiter, Merry Report, the Vice, the Gentleman, the Merchant, the Ranger, the Water-Miller, the Wind-Miller, the Gentlewoman, the Launder, and a Boy. Jupiter opens the piece by telling of the discord among gods who control the several forms of weather. Saturn complains that Phœbus, in the morning, melts his night-frost. Saturn and Phœbus both find themselves interfered with by the showers of Phœbe. But all three are at odds with Eolus, who,

> "When he is disposed his blasts to blow,
> Suffereth neither sunshine, rain, nor snow."

Jupiter, having heard these complaints of the Weather Gods, has come to take the evidence of men upon the subject. Merry Report is, therefore, sent by Jupiter to fetch in all sorts of men from all sorts of places. They want all sorts of

weathers. Jove then decides that there shall be changes of weather, and that each man will get the weather he wants by waiting till its turn comes.

Heywood's "Pardoner and the Frere," &c.

In the Interlude of "The Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratt," pardoner and friar each has leave from the curate to use his church. They come into conflict. The curate comes, and, unable to deal with them calls upon Neighbour Pratt. But the interlopers are too strong for both of them. This piece includes borrowing from Chaucer; and a reference in it to Pope Leo X. seems to imply that it was written before 1521. Another interlude of Heywood's, published in 1533, was "A Mery Play between John the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Sir Jhan the Priest," which shows the collusion between Tyb and the priest, and their open mockery of John the husband. John talks as if he were master until his wife enters, then draws in his horns. She brings home a pie, and sends him to invite the priest to supper. When the priest comes, the husband is sent with a leaky pail to fetch water. When he comes back the priest gives him two hard wax candles (church offerings) to mend the pail with. While he is melting the wax, Tyb and the priest eat the pie. The husband at last rebels, and after a fight, Tyb and the Priest go out together. John first rejoices at their flight, then he suspects and follows them out. So ends the piece, with all the persons of the dialogue departed. Of another interlude, published without date, and called "The Foure P.'s: a very Mery Enterlude of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Potecary, and a Pedlar," the jest was, that after each had shown his humours—and here, as elsewhere, Heywood, although firm to the old Church, wrote as contemptuously as Sir David Lindsay of the pardoner's traffic and all other gross abuses of Religion—first rank was to be adjudged by the pedlar to whichever of his three companions

excelled in lying, since that was, in the way of business, common to all. The palmer won with this—

> "And this I would ye should understand,
> I have seen women five hundred thousand;
> And oft with them have some time tarried
> Yet in all places where I have been,
> Of all the women that I have seen,
> I never saw nor knew in my conscience
> Any one woman out of patience." *

Another of John Heywood's Interludes is in Harleian MS. 367, and was first printed for the Percy Society by Mr. F. W. Fairholt in 1846,† a witty argument between John and James, who dispute whether it be better for a man to be witty or witless. James is about to carry the day, and establish that it is "better to be witless than to be witty," on the ground that God saves the Witless from all peril of the loss of Heaven. But a third speaker, Jerome, intervenes, and by his further argument with John secures the victory to Wit: "Better be sage Solomon than sot Somer." Somer was King Henry VIII.'s fool.

John Heywood was born, in 1497, perhaps at North Mims, in Hertfordshire, where afterwards he certainly had a home. He was opposed to Lutheranism; and his friendship for Sir Thomas More having brought him into the king's favour, he retained it by his wit. His name first appeared

* The Interlude of the Four P.'s was reprinted in the first volume of "Dodsley's Old Plays." It was first printed without a date, by William Myddleton, all whose dated books are of the years 1543–7.

† "A Dialogue on Wit and Folly by John Heywood, now first printed from the Original Manuscript in the British Museum. To which is prefixed an Account of that Author, and his Dramatic Works, by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. London: Printed for the Percy Society. 1846." This volume has about eighty pages of Introduction, including full analyses of Heywood's Interludes, with extracts from them.

in the King's Book of Payments in 1515, when he had eightpence a day for wages. In 1519 he was called a singer. In 1521 he had an annuity of ten marks as the king's servant. In 1526 he was entered as "player of the king's virginals," and he held that office to the end of Henry VIII.'s reign. He was much liked by the Princess Mary, and in March, 1538, received forty shillings for playing an interlude with his children before her. It is to be inferred, therefore, that he directed a small company of interlude players. He remained at Court when Edward VI. was king, and under Queen Mary, for whom, when a young princess, he had shown a particular respect. He had composed, when she was eighteen, a poem in her praise.* But on the accession of Elizabeth he went abroad, and died at Mechlin in 1575, in which year he wrote of himself to Burleigh as an old man of seventy-eight. Besides his interludes, John Heywood wrote six hundred epigrams. Italian influence had bred lively demand at Court for ingenious quips and turns of speech, which Henry VIII. was clever enough to relish. One of Heywood's epigrams is this request for help to be merry—

"Art thou Heywood, with thy mad merry wit?
Yea, forsooth, Mister, that name is even hit.
Art thou Heywood, that appliest mirth more than thrift?
Yea, Sir, I make merry with a golden gift.
Art thou Heywood, that hast made many mad plays?
Yea, many plays, few good works, in my days.
Art thou Heywood, that hath made men merry long?
Yea, and will, if I be made merry among.
Art thou Heywood, that wouldst be made merry now?
Yea, Sir, help me to it now, I beseech you!"

"A new Interlude and a mery of the Nature of the iiij Elements" remains to us only in one copy in the Garrick Collection. It wants leaves in the middle and at the end,

* It is printed in Park's edition of Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors," from Harleian MS. No. 1703.

so that the printing is only ascribed by guess to Rastall, and the date is unknown. But it must have been written before 1520. It represents Natura Naturata teaching Humanity to approach to a knowledge of God through His works; beginning with a lesson on the elements, then leaving Humanity to the companionship of Studious Desire, who brings to him the teaching of Experience. But Sensual Appetite comes between and seeks the Taverner, and would have the chief share of Humanity's attention. Ignorance joins in the play, and out of this elaborated sport, with songs and dances, the relief of mirth is obtained between grave scenes that are meant for instruction of the audience in elements of natural science and cosmography. Experience gives Humanity a demonstration of the roundness of our world and of its geography, from a map that Nature had brought and left upon the stage. In the course of this lesson there is indication of a date. This sea, he says, is called the great ocean:

> "So great it is that never man
> Could tell it sith the world began
> Till now *within this twenty year*
> Westward be found new lands
> That we never heard tell of before this
> By writing nor other means;
> Yet many now have been there."

There is no reference to Columbus, but rather the writer has in mind Amerigo Vespucci and the first voyagers and explorers of America, and the piece may have been written about the year 1517. It is rather a Morality than an Interlude, for all the characters are abstractions except the Taverner. It may have been written for performance in some place of education; and, while the title-page set forth that "if the whole matter be played it will contain the space of an hour and a half," it goes on to say that it can be reduced to the length of three-quarters of an hour without

loss of coherence by leaving out "much of the sad matter, as the Messenger's part, and some of Nature's part and some of Experience' part." This would, in fact, reduce the piece to the proportions and character of a merry after-dinner interlude, with song and grotesque dance.*

Another writer of interludes was John Bale, of whose life until the year 1540 an account has already been given.†

John Bale.

Heywood was not a Protestant, but Bale became one, and escaped, in 1540, from under the papacy of Henry VIII. in England, to live in Holland during the last six years of his reign. Henry condemned with equal severity the religious heresy of Lutherans and the political heresy of those who, in matters of faith, placed the Pope as an authority above himself. A new edition of Fabyan's Chronicle published in 1542 was adapted to the times by transforming Becket's epithet of "blessed saint" into "traitorous bishop." The word "Pope" was changed in it throughout to "Bishop of Rome." Everything was omitted or altered that tended to encourage houses of religion, penance, pilgrimages, or the preservation of relics, or that spoke of the contempt of shrines as an offence.

The four mystery plays by John Bale already named were called by him interludes, and also, as we have seen, one a tragedy, three comedies. "The setting forth of God's Promise" is tragedy because it represents the Old Law, and does not reach to happy end in showing the fulfilment of the Promises of Christ. The "Temptation in the Wilderness" is called a comedy because it has a happy end. Even Satan can be happy in the prospect that the Vicar of Rome will worship him and be his friend. The names had been often

* "The Interlude of the Four Elements. An Early Moral Play. Edited by James Orchard Halliwell, F.R.S. Printed for the Percy Society. 1848."

† "E. W." vii. 282-284.

applied to works not written in dialogue. Bale was, perhaps, the first English writer who applied these names to pieces of dialogue, meant to be acted, that were not translated or paraphrased from the tragedies and comedies of the old Latin theatre, to which the revival of letters had drawn fresh attention. John Bale's own list of his twenty-two dramatic works written in English includes a series of dramas on the life of Christ, which, except that on the "Temptation," are now lost, and he calls each of them a comedy. They were: "Of Christ when he was twelve years old, one comedy; of his Baptism and Temptation, two comedies; of Lazarus raised from the Dead, one comedy; of the Councils of the Bishops, one comedy; of Simon the Leper, one comedy; of the Lord's Supper, and Washing the Feet, one comedy; of the Passion of Christ, two comedies; of the Sepulture and Resurrection, two comedies." In these cases the name is applied in the same sense as to the Divine Comedy of Dante, which begins in Hell and has its end in bliss of Paradise. John Bale gives also a list of other plays of his, including only one that is now extant. They were: "Upon Both Marriages of the King"; "Against Momus and Zoilus"; "The Treacheries of the Papists"; "Against the Adulterators of God's Word"; "Of the Impostures of Thomas à Becket"; "Of the Corruptions of Divine Laws"; "The Image of Love." The one other piece named remains to us; it is his "King John," of which a copy was found in the chest of the Corporation of Ipswich. It was written after the death of Henry VIII., and will be described, therefore, in a later chapter. Probably it was acted at Ipswich either in the reign of Edward VI. or at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, its aim being to support the Reformation.

There was a piece, also in two parts, not dated, and having for its colophon *Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit*, which

caused Joseph Haslewood, who first described it,* to assume that Rastall was its author as well as printer. It is, "Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte. A Dialoge between the Marchaunt, the Knyght, and the Plowman, dysputyng who is a verey Gentylman, and who is a Noble man, and how men should come to auctoryte; compilid in maner of an enterlude, with divers toys and gestis addyd therto to make mery pastyme and disport." The chief toy is a whip in the hand of the Ploughman, who has the best of the argument, and who in each part also literally beats the Merchant and the Knight. The conclusion is that

"Of Gentylness and Nobylyte."

> "The thing that maketh a gentleman to be
> Is but virtue and gentle conditions,
> Which as well in poor men ofttimes we see
> As in men of great birth and high degree."

It is resolved accordingly that

> "these heads, rulers, and governors all
> Should come thereto because of their vertue;
> And in authority they ought not to continue
> Except they be good men, discreet and wise,
> And have a love and zeal unto justíse."

John Rastall also printed, about the year 1530, an Interlude on "the beauty and good properties of Women, as their vices and evil conditions," which was adapted from a Spanish prose piece in twenty-one acts, or parts, called the Tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibœa. The first act of the original piece was written, about the year 1480, by Rodrigo Cota, of Toledo. It is a dialogue between Calisto, who has followed his hawk into a garden, and fair Melibœa, whom he finds there, and who repels his too ready suggestions of love. Calisto goes home, despairs, shuts himself up in a darkened chamber, and is comforted by Sempronio,

The Celestina.

* In the "British Bibliographer," iv. 270.

his confidential servant, who advises him to apply to an old bawd who passes for a witch, and is named Celestina. She promises Calisto that he shall attain all his desires, and thereby acquires great power over him. At this point Rodrigo Cota broke off. But the piece was liked, and the story was continued through another twenty acts—forming seven-eighths of the whole—by a Bachelor of Laws at Salamanca, Fernando de Rojas, of Montalvan. This was the origin of *La Celestina*, a piece very famous in the early records of the Spanish drama. Its characters had life and movement, and although its matter was licentious in the way of warning against vice, its style was so pure that it takes rank, even now, with the best works in Spanish prose. The first known edition was printed in 1499, where it is called a comedy, and is in sixteen acts. During the sixteenth century the *Celestina* went through thirty editions. In 1513 its first act was turned by Pedro de Urrea into Castilian verse, and in 1540 Juan Sedeño versified the whole. There were imitations and there were translations of this famous piece, as now we see that somebody in England made from it the Interlude which was printed by John Rastall, about the year 1530. That was the year of the appearance in Spain of a "Second Comedy of Celestina," by Feliciano de Silva, which the name of Celestina then had strength enough to force through four editions.

Written towards 1537—for Prince Edward and his mother are prayed for in the Epilogue—and first printed without date in All-Hallows Churchyard, by John Tysdale, whose dated books were published between 1550 and 1563, is "A new Enterlude called Thersytes. This Enterlude folowynge dothe declare how that the greatest boesters are not the greatest doers." Thersites enters from the siege of Troy, and asks Mulciber, who is standing at his smithy, to make him a sallet, meaning a helmet, but Mulciber supposes he is asked to make a salad— Thersytes.

"*Thersites.* Goddes passion, Mulciber, where is thy wit and memory?
I would have a sallet made of stele.

Mulciber. Whye, syr, in your stomacke long you shall it fele,
For stele is harde for to digest."

He gets his helmet, and thereto a habergeon, and being thus well armed, "Now have at the lyons on Cotsolde"—a "Cotswold lion" being, in proverb of the country-side, a sheep. He is ready to fight King Arthur, Gawain, Kay the Crabbed, Lancelot of the Lake, and Robin Hood. He does attack a snail and force him to draw in his horns, but runs away to his mother at the sight of a poor soldier, come of late from Calais. Ulysses sends Telemachus with a letter to the mother of Ulysses, asking how to cure the child of worms, and gets advice. But the poor soldier enters, and Thersites flies, leaving his club and sword behind him.

Rise of the Modern Drama.

The rise of the modern drama was not from a modification of the miracle plays, but came, with the revival of letters, almost everywhere from imitation of the Latin dramatists. First, they were Latin imitators of the Latin. Albertino Mussato, of Padua, who died in 1330, produced two tragedies in such Latin as an Italian audience might partly understand; one was an "Achilleis," the other an "Eccerinis," on a native theme, Ezzelin, tyrant of Padua. For the latter play his compatriots gave him a laurel crown. The story of Mussato's Ezzelin was told in five acts, each consisting of a narrative spoken in character—1, by the mother of Ezzelin; 2, by a messenger; 3, by dialogue between two brothers, interrupted by a messenger; 4 and 5, each by a messenger. Single speakers addressed the Chorus, which occasionally asked a question, and at the close of each act lamented or moralised. Each of the five acts of a tragedy by Seneca

was usually closed in this way by the chorus. Petrarch said that he wrote when young a comedy called "Philologia," but kept it to himself. Pier Paolo Vergerio, born in Capo d'Istria, about 1349, a philosopher, jurisconsult, and orator, who assisted at the Council of Constance, wrote in his youth a Latin comedy, named "Paulus," which is not lost, and of which the professed object was to correct the manners of the young. Italy, in the fifteenth century, had the pompous acting of mysteries, the Rustic Farces and in the Dramatic Pastoral of "Orfeo," in which Poliziano first gave dramatic action to a pastoral written in the language of the people, and still from time to time a Latin tragedy or comedy. One of these Latin comedies, the "Lusus Ebriorum," by Secco Polentone, was translated into Italian, and printed in 1472, named afresh "Catinia," from a chief actor in the story. This seems to have been the earliest printed comedy in any of the modern languages of Europe.

In 1486 there were plays acted in Ferrara before its duke. First, there was acted a translation of the "Menæchmi" of Plautus; then the pastoral "Cefalo," by Niccola da Corregio; then the "Amphitryon" of Plautus, translated into *terza rima*; then a sacred comedy on the story of Joseph. For the same Duke Ercole I., and in the same theatre at Ferrara, were acted new Italian plays by Antonio da Pistoja; one was "Panfila," a tragedy in *terza rima* (first printed at Venice in 1508), also a comedy in five acts, and in *terza rima*, called "Timone," by Boiardo, who died in 1494. In 1494, Giacomo Nardi, translator of Livy, produced in Florence an Italian comedy, in various metres, called *Amicizia*.

Pomponius Lætus in those days had taught lay youths to act Plautus and Terence in the houses of great men. In the chief towns of Italy, in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, cardinals and other dignitaries frequently had plays of Seneca, Plautus, and Terence acted before them. Tommaso

Inghiramo, a reverend canon and professor of rhetoric, acquired the surname of Phædra for his excellent acting of the part of the wife of Theseus, in Seneca's "Hippolytus," on a stage before the palace of the Cardinal Raffaelle San Giorgio. The best of the Latin plays written in Italy was the "Golden Shower" (*Imber Aureus*) of Antonio Tilesio, a tragedy on the story of Danae, produced in 1529, often acted with great applause, and first printed in 1530. At that time Coriolano Martirano, Bishop of San Marco, in Calabria, was producing excellent versions into Latin of the "Electra" of Sophocles; of the "Prometheus Bound" of Æschylus; of the "Medea," "Hippolytus," "Bacchæ," "Phœnissæ," and "Cyclops" of Euripides; and of the "Plutus" and "Clouds" of Aristophanes.

Native Italian comedy was represented in the first years of the sixteenth century by Ariosto. His earliest comedy was *I Suppositi* ("The Substitutes"), where master and man change places; and in this Ariosto himself said that he followed the "Eunuch" of Terence and the "Captives" of Plautus. To the same period of his youth belongs Ariosto's *Cassaria*, where the plot turns on a box deposited with Crisobolo, and passed by his son into the power of the master of a fair slave, Eulalia. The characters here are like those of the Latin comedy, but the plot is his own. These comedies were first written about 1498, in prose, but afterwards rewritten into unrhymed verse. His other comedies, *Lena*, *Scolastica*, and *Il Negromante* ("The Magician"), produced in a theatre fitted up by him for the Duke of Ferrara, were also in unrhymed verse; the last named was sent to Leo X. in 1520, and acted in Rome.

An Italian tragedy on the story of Sofonisba, by Galotto del Carretto, was acted before Isabella Marchioness of Mantua, in 1502; but Trissino's "Sofonisba," dedicated to Leo X. in 1515, and printed in 1529, was the first Italian tragedy of mark. This was also in unrhymed verse. Giovan

Giorgio Trissino, born in 1478, of a noble and wealthy family in Vicenza, had a keen delight in Greek and a genius for poetry and architecture; he had also means that gave him leisure to indulge his tastes. He went to Rome, and wrote "Sofonisba" to employ his mind when he was in deep grief after the loss of his first wife.

In the year 1540, Trissino lost his second wife. He was then at work on a long epic poem, *Italia Liberata da i Goti* ("Italy freed from the Goths"), upon the production of which he spent twenty years. It is chiefly famous as the first attempt in modern literature to produce a long epic in unrhymed verse. The first nine books of Trissino's epic appeared at Rome in 1547, the rest followed in 1548.

Of three comedies by Machiavelli (who was born in 1469 and died in 1527), one is a free version of the "Casina" of Plautus; another is a closer version of the "Andria" of Terence; and the third, "Mandragola," had a plot of its own, illustrating the degradation of society in Florence.

The Latin play of *Acolastus*, by a schoolmaster of the Hague, Willem de Volder, which was first acted in 1529, and was edited by John Palsgrave* in 1540 as an English school-book, was a famous example of the movement made through colleges and schools from Plautus and Terence to the modern drama. *Acolastus.*

Willem de Volder (Volder and Voller are the Dutch forms of our English Fuller), called also Willem van de Voldersgraft (of the Fullery), was born at the Hague about the year 1493. From his birthplace he has been called William van Haghen, or Hagiensis. He afterwards, following the usual custom among scholars, Latinised his name for use in books as Fullonius, and also gave it a Greek form, from κναφεύς or γναφεύς, a fuller or cloth-dresser, as Gnapheus.

* "E. W." vii. 10–12.

Willem de Volder was educated at one of the houses—*Fratrum Domi*—that had been formed upon the pattern set in the fourteenth century by Gerhard Groot at Deventer, and developed by Groot's disciple and successor, Florentius Radewin, of Leerdam, in South Holland, who had Thomas à Kempis among the brethren under him. The Houses of these "Brethren of the Common Life" had multiplied so rapidly that by the middle of the fifteenth century there were a hundred and fifty of them, and they came to form a chain of Houses extending from Cambray in the Netherlands to Culm in West Prussia. The education they gave included manual industry, and was calculated to bring out the energies of mind and body. The religious part of it was based upon Gerhard Groot's instruction to his brethren to make the Gospel the chief root of their studies. From first attention to that they might pass to the Acts and Words of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the lives and opinions of the Fathers and their devotional works. Men so trained became apt to join the ranks of the Reformers. Willem de Volder did so, after graduating in the University of Cologne, and establishing himself as a schoolmaster in his native town. In 1523 he was imprisoned at Delft by the Inquisition, but set free on the mediation of the States of Holland. In 1525 he was imprisoned again for a few months, because he had published a pamphlet against cloister life. In 1528, the year before the publication at Antwerp of his play of *Acolastus*, which had been written when his age was about thirty-two, and presented by his school-boys at the Hague, he had to fly from persecution.

In 1531 Willem de Volder and other Dutch Protestants settled at Elbing, in East Prussia, and in 1535 the Town Council of Elbing made Willem de Volder—Fullonius—Gnapheus—master of the newly-founded Latin school there. Even out of Elbing he was driven by persecution from the Bishop of Ermeland, and he removed to Königsberg, at the

other end of the Frische Haff, where he had the protection of Duke Albrecht, who gave him position on his Council. The Duke was busy then about the founding of a University in Königsberg, with an associated Pædagogium. The University opened in 1544, and of the Pædagogium Fullonius was then appointed the first rector.

But still there was no rest from the disputes about religion. After three years at Königsberg, Fullonius was driven away by zeal of theologians, and went, in 1547, to Emden. There he was employed as secretary, and as tutor to her son, by the Countess Anna of East Friesland. In 1559, all the writings of Fullonius were entered at Rome in the Index of Prohibited Books. Fullonius was still serving the rulers of East Friesland, being employed by them as Treasurer at Norden, when he died, at the age of seventy-five, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1568.

Acolastus, written to be acted by Volder's boys at the Hague, was performed also under his direction at Elbing, in 1536. He published it in a much altered form at Antwerp in 1555, but the change was not accepted as an improvement. The very great success of *Acolastus*, as first printed in 1529, was not repeated when its author produced afterwards three other Latin comedies written for school performance, *Triumphus Eloquentiæ* and *Morosophus*, both published in 1541, and *Hypocrisis* in 1544. But of *Acolastus*, the most successful work of its kind, there were forty different issues in the lifetime of its author, and it was accepted very generally for use in schools.

The desire had been to train boys in free use of Latin dialogue by familiarity with the phrases of Plautus and Terence, and to avoid, if possible, unguarded familiarity with the immoral life they painted. The success of Reuchlin's *Henno*, in 1498, gave strong impulse to the production of new Latin plays in the manner of Terence, and Macropedius, at Utrecht, had already shown genius in the

adaptation of subjects taken from the Bible to such studies of Latin drama, before Fullonius wrote his *Acolastus*. The Greek word, which means unbridled, intemperate, gives a fit name to the Prodigal Son. By development in action of the few words saying that he "took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance in riotous living," characters resembling those of the old Latin comedy are brought upon the scene, set in the story of the parable, and so used that they serve more to warn than to mislead the young. The dialogue, in various metres of the comic Latin poets, is lively and dramatic, though intentionally charged with classical colloquial phrases. These are chiefly taken from the plays of Terence; there are not a few also from the plays of Plautus, some from Horace, some from Cicero, and some phrases, but not many, from Virgil and other writers.

The elder son, who grudged the fatted calf, is dropped from the conclusion of the story, which begins the first of its five acts with Pelargus (Greek for the stork, who feeds his young with his heart's blood), the father, and a prudent friend, Eubulus (good counsel), in whose advice he trusts. How shall the father meet the rash desire of his beloved Acolastus to receive his portion and leave home? Eubulus thinks it good that he should learn the lesson which would follow a compliance with his wish. Acolastus, in the next scene, discourses with his imprudent friend Philautus (Greek for selfish), counsellor of self-love and wilfulness. In the third scene Acolastus takes his portion from his father, parts from him with flippant words of courtesy, and returns to congratulate himself with Philautus in the fourth scene, which ends the act.

The second act begins, in the strange country to which Acolastus comes, with characteristic dialogue between two parasitical gluttons, Pantolabus and Pamphagus—Grasp-all and Eat-all. In the next scene Acolastus parts from

Philautus, and breaks into a song of delight in the free life before him. In the third scene he falls into the hands of Pantolabus and Pamphagus. Then follow the self-gratulations of Pamphagus, who remains in the fourth scene alone upon the stage, and the act ends with a fifth scene in which Acolastus gives to Sannio, pimp and innkeeper, large orders for feasting, and sends the innkeeper's man, Syrus, to fetch Lais—costliest of courtesans—that there may be love as well as friendship at the feast.

The third act is a dramatic setting forth of the Prodigal's waste upon Lais and his tavern friends, with a scene set in the midst of it showing the loving father's care over his absent son, by dialogue between Eubulus and Pelargus in the third of the five scenes that form this act.

The fourth act begins with Pamphagus alone, in its second scene brings Pantolabus and Pamphagus together, in its third scene has Pantolabus alone, these scenes, outside the tavern, all representing the wild prodigality of Acolastus. Then Sannio, the tavern-keeper, comes out of his door to tell that the Prodigal has lost all that he had at dice. Pamphagus, with whom he had thrown the dice, follows, exulting in his plunder. Lais enters to the rest of the people, among whom Acolastus has now scattered all his means, and Acolastus is reviled because he has no money to give her. He is beaten by the obscene wolves, his companions; stripped, and left alone to lament his affliction. In the seventh scene of this act the old farmer, Chremes, enters, by whom Acolastus is engaged to feed his swine.

The fifth act opens with the anxious presage of ill by Pelargus, whom Eubulus comforts with the hope of tidings. The constant love of the Father is thus blended with the presentment of the son astray. In the second scene the Prodigal, alone and far from home, speaks his despair. The third scene shows Eubulus, whose inquiries have discovered the

condition into which the Prodigal has fallen, and who will go to comfort his friend Pelargus with assurance that his son must now be on the verge of repentance. The fourth scene again shows Acolastus alone, fully repentant, timidly determining to go back. The fifth scene—the last in the play—shows Eubulus bringing his tidings to Pelargus on one side of the stage, and Acolastus presently entering upon the other side, with dramatic rendering of the words, "When he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him." A Peroration follows on the regard of God, the Heavenly Father, to us, his rebellious children. They who repent with the Prodigal may share his hope, and learn that God is Love.

There had been twenty issues of this piece by the year 1540, when John Palsgrave chose it for a Latin text on which he would show how Latin works should be prepared for use in English schools. His volume, of which very few copies are known,* has a long title-page descriptive of its plan and purpose, as an English Ecphrasis (full setting forth) of the comedy of *Acolastus*.†

Palsgrave's Ecphrasis on *Acolastus*.

In a dedication to Henry VIII., Palsgrave commends the restriction of teachers in all English schools to a single Latin grammar.‡ He proceeds to argue that, after rules of grammar have been learnt, there follows need of Latin books, with authorised interpretations of the text, and he has undertaken such a full interpretation of *Acolastus* as will

* There are two perfect copies in the British Museum, with one imperfect.

† "Joannis Palsgravi Londoniensis Ecphrasis Anglica in Comoediam Acolasti. . . . Anno M.D.XL. Impress. Lond. in ædibus Tho. Berthelet regii impressoris, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum."

‡ "E. W." vii. 195.

show what he considers should be done. Some teachers are inefficient; some explain Latin by Latin; some, bred in the country, are good Latin scholars, but unable to turn their Latin into standard English; some spend the day on a few lines, and boys blot their books with such rude glosses as they can form for themselves from what they hear. The best teachers, aided by such books as place in the boys' hands a full interpretation of the text, would have three-fourths of the work they must otherwise do done for them, and so would have their time set free for larger exposition of the spirit of a book.

Palsgrave says he has chosen *Acolastus* for his Latin author to be Ecphrastes upon, "not only for because I esteem that little volume to be a very curious and artificial compacted nosegay, gathered out of the much excellent and odoriferous sweet-smelling garden of the most pure Latin authors, but also because the maker thereof (as far as I can learn) is yet living, whereby I would be glad to move into the hearts of Your Grace's clerks some little grain of honest and virtuous envy, which on my part, to confess the very truth unto Your Grace, hath continually, in all the time of these my poor labours taking, accompanied me and stirred me onwards to achieve this matter on this wise by me attempted." Translation of Latin into English is help, said Palsgrave, to the purity of English style. No European language agrees less with Latin than the Dutch, yet here is a Dutchman who, in *Acolastus*, has produced a model of Latinity. Palsgrave says that he had proposed to dedicate his book to the Lord Privy Seal—that is to say, Thomas Cromwell, in the year of whose fall the book was published—but Cromwell advised its dedication to the king, and Palsgrave expressed to the king his hope that it might "give occasion to other Your Grace's well learned clerks to fall in hand with such of the Latin authors as in the judgment of all men be most excellent and to the purpose most

necessary and expedient. So that by their diligent labours may be made such an established marriage between the two tongues as may be, unto such of Your Grace's subjects as shall succeed hereafter, not only steady, agreed upon, and permanent, but also an incredible furtherance to attempt the prose Latinity by."

Palsgrave in his Ecphrasis interpreted the names of the characters, gave a section to explanation of the Latin Metres used throughout the play, placed before the sixth scene of the fourth act, "Observation of the Rhethoricall composition used by the Auctour in this sceane nexte ensuynge," and also in the second and fourth scenes of the fifth act, in which three scenes Acolastus expresses his misery, becomes weary of his life as a swineherd, and draws to repentance. The Latin text is given by Palsgrave with many side-notes indicating "Phrasis," "Adagium," "Apostrophe," or that a form of speech is "Elegans." The translation is with all the variation of words and incidental information that might be used by a schoolmaster when interpreting the Latin to his boys. In this way, for example, Palsgrave translates the beginning of the song of Acolastus on his first escape from the restraints of home—

"O Dies festus, niveo lapillo
Dignus, ô lucis facies serena
Qua licet demum positis suave
Vivere çuris!"

"O festyuall daye, worthy a snowysshe lyttell stone. i. worthye to be marked with a stone as whyte as snowe, in token of prosperite and good fortune (lyke as in olde tyme they marked their troublesom days with a blacke stone; and at the yeres end they used to nomber their stones, therby to knowe, whether they had had in the yere more pleasure or sorowe, mo good dayes or bad). O fayre face of lyght. i. O goodly and fayre or bryght shynyng day, in the whiche nowe at the last it is lefull (for me) to lyue swetely. i. pleasantly, putting away cares. i. settynge care and thought a syde; or in which I may nowe say, care a waye."

That is a fair example of John Palsgrave's way of teaching schoolboys how to master Latin texts by help of a translation printed with them, and short dissertations upon any features of the book that might require particular attention.*

In England no advance had been made beyond imitation of the Latins in Latin plays written by Englishmen, when it occurred, as it would seem, to a head master of Eton to take the next step. John Ritwyse, the first surmaster of St. Paul's School, Lilly's son-in-law and successor, taught his boys to act in Latin and French an interlude in 1527, before the King and the French ambassadors at Greenwich, which attacked the Reformers by bringing Luther and his wife upon the stage. He also wrote a Latin play, "Dido," which his boys acted before Wolsey. Ritwyse was head master between 1522 and 1532, the year of his death. Bale records of Thomas Artour, a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who died in the same year, 1532, that he wrote two Latin plays, *Mundus Plumbeus* and *Microcosmus*. Antony à Wood records that at Oxford a Latin comedy of "Piscator, or the Fisher Caught," was written in 1535, by John Hoker. At large public schools, as at the universities, Latin plays were acted on special occasions. The custom has survived at Westminster, in annual performance of a play of Terence or Plautus before the Christmas holidays. A head master able to give his boys a Latin play of his own writing to act probably did so. As head master of Eton, which office he filled between the years 1534 and 1541, Udall may or may not have substituted such a Latin play of his own for Plautus or Terence at the performance

* An excellent edition of the original play of *Acolastus* can be had now for two shillings in the first number of a series of "Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV and XVI Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Max Herrmann and Siegfried Szamatolski. I. Gulielmus Gnaphevs Acolastus Herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte." Berlin. 1891.

which usually took place about the time of the Feast of St. Andrew; but it seems certainly to have occurred to him that his boys might amuse themselves and their fathers and mothers a great deal more if he wrote them their play in English. Accordingly, he appears to have given them "Ralph Roister Doister," and possibly one or two more. There is no direct evidence that it was acted at Eton, but some that is indirect, in addition to strong probability. This play could only have been written to be acted; it was not printed until 1566 (the only known copy of it is in the library of Eton College), and its singular freedom from the coarseness that in its time seasoned jesting even before the most select general audience, suggests the schoolmaster's sense of the reverence due to youth, and of what would be unbecoming to his own position.

Nicholas Udall.

Nicholas Udall was born in Hampshire, in 1505, or 1506. In 1520 he was admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He took his B.A. at Oxford, but his known goodwill to the Lutherans kept him from proceeding to his M.A. until 1534. At Oxford, Leland was among his friends, and in 1532 Leland and Udall jointly wrote the pageant exhibited by the Mayor and citizens of London when Anne Boleyn entered the city after her marriage. Udall was at that time a schoolmaster. In 1533 he published and dedicated to his boys, "Floures for Latin Spekynge," selected and gathered out of Terence, and the same translated into English. The selections were made from the first three comedies of Terence. In 1534 Udall, who was highly esteemed for his scholarship, was made head master of Eton School; and in 1538 appeared a newly-corrected edition of his "Flowers for Latin Speaking," enlarged from 110 to 192 pages. It was the custom at Eton for the boys to act at Christmas some Latin stage-play, chosen or written for them by the master. Among the writings ascribed to Udall, about the year 1540, were several

Latin comedies, and a tragedy on the Papacy, written probably to be acted by his scholars. When it occurred to him to write for his boys an English comedy, wherein, as its Prologue says,

> "All scurrility we utterly refuse,
> Avoiding such mirth wherein is abuse,"

and avowedly following Plautus and Terence, "which among the learned at this day bears the bell," he produced what is, as far as we know, the first English comedy.

The First English Comedy.

Its name is "Ralph Roister Doister," and it was a wholesome jest against vainglory. "Roisterer" is still northern English for a swaggerer, but the word came in from the old French *rustre* ("a ruffian"). The *rustarii* were French freebooters of the eleventh century. Ralph Roister Doister of Udall's play is a swaggering simpleton; a feeble, conceited fop of the days of Henry VIII.; who is played upon and lived upon by Matthew Merrygreek, a needy humorist, the parasite of the old Latin drama. The jest of the play was in the absurdities of Ralph's suit to Dame Christian Custance, "a widow worth a thousand pound," already betrothed to a merchant, Gavin Goodluck, away at sea. The play, in lively rhyming couplets, interspersed with a few merry songs, was written with so good a sense of the reverence due to boys that it may be read by boys of the present day. The incidents provided good matter for merry acting, with an occasional burst of active fun, as in a brisk battle lost by Ralph and his man to Custance and her woman, armed with broomsticks. The comedy showed also its origin in a schoolmaster, by including a pleasant lesson on the importance of right pauses in reading. A love-letter sent by Ralph to Dame Christian Custance was read to her, with its sense reversed by putting the stops in the wrong places, thus:

> "Now by these presents I do you advertise
> That I am minded to marry you in no wise.

For your goods and substance I could be content
To take you as you are. If ye mind to be my wife,
Ye shall be assured for the time of my life
I will keep you right well from good raiment and fare.
Ye shall not be kept but in sorrow and care.
Ye shall in no wise live at your own liberty;
Do and say what ye lust, ye shall never please me.
But when ye are merry, I will be all sad;
When ye are sorry I will be very glad;
When ye seek your heart's ease I will be unkind;
At no time in me shall ye much gentleness find;"

and so forth, all reversible by change of punctuation. The last-quoted lines seem to be a play upon a verse of Sir Thomas Wyatt's—

"When ye be merry then I am glad,
When ye be sorry then I am sad;
Such a grace or fortune I would I had,
You for to please howe'er I were bestad."

If this comedy, as there can be little doubt, was written for the Eton boys, its date must be during Udall's time at Eton, between 1534 and 1541. Udall had Lutheran tendencies that caused him to assent to the removal of images from the College chapel. He was charged with complicity in theft from the chapel; theologic hatred added infamous imputations that would have ruined him for life had they been true. He was then Vicar of Braintree, in Essex, and remained so until December, 1544, when he resigned. In 1542 Udall published an English translation of the third and fourth books of the "Apophthegms of Erasmus," with an introduction and colloquial notes. He was still schoolmaster somewhere. Between 1542 and 1545 he was translating the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon Luke, which he dedicated to Henry's last queen, Catherine Parr, by whose "procurement and charge" the other parts of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament were being Englished.

The Princess Mary undertook and partly translated the Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, but falling ill, left it to be finished by her chaplain. The first volume, containing the Gospels and the Acts, was published after King Henry's death, in January, 1548.

It may here be added, concerning Udall, that Edward VI. presented him to the rectory of Calbourne, in the Isle of Wight. Udall was appointed in 1554 to prepare Dialogues and Interludes for Queen Mary. About 1555 he was made head master of Westminster School. But his office ceased at the re-establishment of the monastery by Mary in November, 1556, and he died in the following month. His credit as a dramatist is witnessed by the fact that when Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in August, 1564, she was entertained with "an English play called Ezekias, made by Mr. Udall, and handled by King's College men only." It is significant that Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were founded together by Henry VI., one to be as a seminary to the other, King's being the college at Cambridge to which, as William Lambarde expressed it, "Eton sendeth annually her ripe fruit." "Ezekias," therefore, may have been another of the Eton plays, acted at King's College by Old Etonians who had taken parts in it during their school-days. However it may be, "Ralph Roister Doister," our first English comedy, was written by a university man, a famous Latin scholar, who wrote a school-book formed on Terence, was head master of Eton School, and also for a time of Westminster, and who derived his inspiration altogether from the Latin comedy, through the use made of it in schools and universities. A direct forerunner of our first English comedy was the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus.

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CHAPTER V.

FROM HENRY THE EIGHTH'S REIGN ONWARD.—JOHN LELAND AND JOHN BALE.—NORTHERN REFORMERS: SIR DAVID LINDSAY AND JOHN KNOX.

John Leland.

JOHN LELAND, King's Antiquary, and Rector of Poppeling, in the Marches of Calais, we left* in the year 1540, authorised since 1536 to keep a curate at Poppeling, and maintained by a stipend from Henry VIII. for travelling from place to place, "examining the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges, and all places wherein records, writings, and secrets of Antiquity were reposited." He looked for evidences of the past history of his country in tumuli, on painted windows, and on coins, in old inscriptions of all kinds. He examined traces of old buildings, and did not merely inspect old manuscripts and printed books, but took exact catalogues of them, and transcribed whatever passages he valued most as evidence of the past life of his country.

A Latin address to Henry VIII. was presented by Leland, in 1546, as a New Year's gift, *Strena Henrico Octavo oblata*. It was printed in English by John Bale in 1549, with a dedication to Edward VI., and with interspersed comments by Bale himself,† which are flavoured strongly with his

* "E. W." vii. 284, 285.

† "The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees, geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viii. in the xxxvii. yeare of his Reygne, with declaracyons

bitterness against the Church of Rome. Bale, however, in his dedication of the piece to Edward VI., being himself an antiquary, does not fail to "dolorously lament so great an oversight in this most lawful overthrow of the sodometrous Abbeys and Friaries, when the most worthy monuments of this realm so miserably perished in the spoil." And again, he says: "I do not deny it but the monks, canons, and friars were wicked both ways, as the oiled bishops and priests for the more part are yet still. First for so much as they were the professed-soldiers of Antichrist, and next to that, for so much as they were most execrable livers. For these causes I must confess them most justly suppressed. Yet this would I have wished (and I scarcely utter it without tears) that the profitable corn had not so unadvisedly and ungodly perished with the unprofitable chaff, nor the wholesome words with the unwholesome weeds, I mean the worthy works of men godly minded, and lively memorials of our nation, with those lazy lubbers and popish belly gods."

Leland's patience and fidelity of research, continued through six years under royal authority that served as key to every lock, would have been of great value at any time. It was of utmost value then.*

enlarged: by John Bale.—11. Macha. 11. He that begynneth to wryte a storye, for the fyrste muste wyth his understandynge gather the matter togyther, set hys wordes in ordre, and dylygently seke out on euery parte.—To be sold in flete strete at the signe of the Croune next unto the whyte Fryears gate."

* Bale's Preface to Leland's New Year's gift, which follows the dedication, gives the following details of the destruction of monastic libraries by those into whose hands the religious houses fell:—"A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this nation are not all clear in this detestable fact. . . . I know a merchant man, which shall at

Leland reports to the king, as fruit of his commission, that he has "conserved many good authors the which otherwise had been like to have perished, to no small incommodity of good letters, of the which, part remains in the most magnificent libraries of your royal palaces. Part also remain in my custody, whereby I trust right shortly so to describe your most noble realm, and to publish the majesty of the excellent acts of your progenitors, hitherto sore obscured for lack of emprinting of such works as lay secretly in corners." He proposes also to set forth his enlarged history "in a flourishing style in some time past not commonly used in England of writers otherwise well learned, but now in such estimation that except Truth be delicately clothed in purple her written verities can scant find a reader." This recognises the new influence of the Italian Renaissance, and points in the direction of the coming Euphuism.

Leland's Plan of Work.

Leland says, also, in evidence of another form of the new intellectual activity, that the greater number of the copies of rare works curiously sought by him, and fortunately found in sundry parts of England, have been printed in Germany, or are now in the presses chiefly of Frobenius,* so that even "the Italians themselves that count as the Greeks did full arrogantly all other nations to be barbarous and unlettered," may praise Britain as a parent of men of genius, who is also a preserver of their works.

Looking next to the direct use of books as a living aid

this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of gray paper by the space of more than ten years, and yet he hath store enough for many years to come."

* Johann Froben, born at Hammelburg, in Bavaria, was about thirty years old when he established his printing press at Basel in 1491. He printed three hundred works, including all those of Erasmus, before his death in 1527, when his age was sixty-seven. His press of course remained active.

to the solution of great questions of the day, Leland adds that his researches have enabled him to find matter in support of the king's claim to the authority usurped by the Bishop of Rome, and here he alludes to arguments upon that subject which had been used in a book of his own called "Antiphilarchia." This was a Dialogue in forty-five chapters between Philathes and Tranotes against Papal Supremacy, dedicated by John Leland to Henry VIII., Defender of the Faith, and, after Christ, Supreme Head of the English Church.

Next, Leland recites that the king's patronage of all good learning had led him to consider "how great a number of godly wits and writers, learned with the best, as the times served," hath been in England; and he "could not but with a fervent zeal and an honest courage, commend them to memory, else, alas, like to have been perpetually obscured, or to have been lightly remembered as uncertain shadows." He has, therefore, following the example of St. Jerome and others, written four books, *De Viris Illustribus*. The first of these books he began with the Druids and closed with the coming of Augustine into England; in the second book he carried on the record from Augustine to the coming of the Normans; in the third he advanced from the Norman Conquest to the death of Henry VII.; and the fourth dealt with the reign of Henry VIII., who, although he has royal ancestors in the record, stands with them as the day-star among the lesser lights.

De Viris Illustribus.

Bale's name is joined with that of Leland in such work as this. They are the two Englishmen who first endeavoured, with regard to the whole people, to restore the fading memories of those of their forefathers whose thought and work had shaped the present, and were full of help towards the shaping of the future. Except by thwarting the simplicity of truth, it was impossible for Bale to omit

reference to his own work of the same kind when interposing comment upon this passage in Leland's New Year's gift. Leland, as we shall find presently, was in that year living, but insane.

"The order of Leland's work," says Bale, "into four books divided, beginning at the Druids, and ending in the latter years of King Henry VIII., as he hath herein uttered, is very commendable. Somewhat more is it than a year past since I put forth a work of the same argument, entitled *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, containing five books, with certain additions which I gathered together being out of the realm. Since I returned again thereunto, by the search of divers most ruinously spoiled, broken up and dispersed libraries, I have collected by no small labour and diligence so much as will make so many books more, besides the necessary recognition and fruitful augmentation of the said first work. This latter work intend I to set forth also, to the commodity of my country, if poverty withstand me not, as it is my most doubt. Yet would I have no man to judge my rude labours to Leland's fine workmanship in any point equal, but all times to give place unto it." So good John Bale, although the conflicts of the time withheld him from giving fair play to a Roman Catholic, proved his right to be himself remembered among English writers whom a true sense of their craft can never fail to draw into a generous regard for all who labour in it faithfully.

Leland goes on to suggest to the king what has been done by the old writers whose lives he has sought to keep in memory. Their saying makes our doing. There is no liberal art in which they have not shown felicity of wit. The study of our old historians bred in him, says Leland to the king, such love for the land they wrote of, that, "all my other occupations intermitted, I have so travelled in your dominions both by the sea coasts and the middle parts, sparing neither labour nor

Leland's "Itinerary."

costs by the space of these six years past, that there is almost neither cape nor bay, haven, creek, or pier, river or confluence of rivers, breaches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountains, valleys, moors, heaths, forests, woods, cities, boroughs, castles, principal manor places, monasteries and colleges, but I have seen them, and noted in so doing a whole world of things very memorable." And his hope was, if God sent him life to accomplish his beginning, that he might with help of his collections set forth "this world and impery of England as in a quadrate table of silver."

He proposed to himself in that New Year's gift, presented to King Henry VIII. in 1546, to write within the next twelve months a description of the topography of the realm as first constituted, which he entitled in the margin of his paper, *Liber de Topographia Britanniæ Primæ*, in which he would endeavour to identify all places in Britain named by Cæsar, Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Fabius Pictor, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Tacitus, Ptolemy, Sextus Rufus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Solinus, Antoninus, and other ancient writers.

Topography of Ancient Britain.

After this, Leland had, he said, plenty of matter ready for proceeding to his next work, a Civil History of Britain, which he proposed to entitle *De Antiquitate Britannica*, or *Civilis Historia*. This work, he estimated, would "include a fifty books, whereof each one severally shall contain the beginnings, increases, and memorable acts of the chief towns and castles of the province allotted to it."

Civil History.

After this, Leland proposed to himself to distribute into six books such matters as he had collected concerning the isles adjacent to Britain, *Libri sex de Insulis Britanniæ adjacentibus*. Three of these books he severally allotted to the Isle of Wight, Anglesey, and the Isle of Man — "Vecta, Mona, and Menavia, some time kingdoms."

History of the adjacent Isles.

Leland proposed to close his labours with a work, *De Nobilitate Britannica*, in three books; "whereof the first shall declare the names of Kings and Queens, with their children, Dukes, Earls, Lords, Captains, and rulers in this realm, to the coming of the Saxons and their Conquest. The second shall be of the Saxons and Danes, to the victory of King William the Great; the third from the Normans to the reign of Your Most Noble Grace, descending lineally of the Briton, Saxon, and Norman kings. So that all Noble Men shall clearly perceive their lineal parentele."

Of the British Nobility.

Thus the life's work was planned. At the end of the six years' research and travel, from 1536 to 1542, King Henry VIII. had presented Leland, on the third of April, 1542, to the rich rectory of Hasely, in Oxfordshire, which was then in the diocese of Lincoln. This rectory was afterwards annexed by the Crown to the Deanery of Windsor. In 1543, Henry VIII. gave to John Leland, whom he had also made his chaplain, a canonry in King's College, Oxford, which he lost in 1545, when that College, now Christ Church, was surrendered to the king. Leland was not among the canons who were pensioned, but he was otherwise provided for. That, probably, was the time of his presentation to the prebend of East and West Knowle, near Salisbury. Henry VIII. was, in fact, generous to Leland, who celebrated him in some grateful Latin verses as his port and favouring gale. Sooner, he says, shall sun, moon, seas, trees, flowers forsake the course of Nature—

Last Years of Leland.

> "*Quam, Rex dive, tuum labatur pectore nostro*
> *Nomen, quod studiis portus et aura meis.**

In 1542, when his travels were over, John Leland settled

* "Than thou, great king, shall slip out of my breast,
My studies' gentle gale, and quiet rest."
—*Translation in Fuller's Church History.*

down in London in a house of his own in the parish of St. Michael le Querne, near Paternoster Row. If the house came to him from his parents he may have been born in it, as certainly he died in it; and he may have been baptised as well as buried in the parish church. Leland's house in the parish of St. Michael le Querne, at West Cheap, between Paternoster Row and the old sanctuary of St. Martin's le Grand, must have been very near to the great belfry for which, and for its bells, Henry VIII. played at dice with Sir Miles Partridge, and lost them. The bell by which citizens of London had been summoned of old to their folkmote, on the ground near by, was melted for what its metal might be worth, while John Leland was quietly at work arranging the great mass of his materials, and seeking to shape from them the true story of his country. He was at work in this way for the six years that followed his six years of travel and research. A letter of Leland's to a friend at Louvain, written during this time, shows that he was in search of a toward young man of twenty who was scholar enough to write Latin verse and who could swim without corks in his Greek. Such a youth, he said, he would maintain liberally if his good life answered to his learning.

After the death of Henry VIII., on the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, Leland's health failed, and his income from the Church no longer received additions that enabled him to meet the steadily increasing expenses of his work. The gentle, busy scholar then appealed to Cranmer for assistance. He worked on, but with failing powers, till at last his mind gave way, and on the twenty-first of March, 1550, letters patent from King Edward VI. in Council granted the custody of him, as John Leland, junior, to his brother, John Leland, senior, who was to receive for his better support the profits of the livings of Poppeling and Hasely, and of the prebend of East and West Knowle. Leland's age then was about forty-five. He had not planned for his life's work

more than might have been achieved if he had been spared for another five-and-twenty years to labour on until he reached three-score and ten. Men must plan boldly who seek the gathering in this world of the little harvest of their lives. But when God calls them, they lay down their reaping-hooks. Then they pass out unmurmuring to be His labourers beyond the field-marks of the little home tead in which, while the time served, they had sown and planted and dug wells. John Leland remained insane until he died, on the eighteenth of April, 1552, and left "Collections" to take the place of the large works he had designed to build upon them.

Leland's Collections.

Edward VI. committed Leland's Collections to the custody of Sir John Cheke, a fine scholar, who was his Majesty's tutor in Latin, and was then also Latin secretary. Sir John Cheke would have worked upon them to good purpose, if the trouble of the times after King Edward's death had not driven him out of England. Four volumes of Leland's Collections Cheke, before leaving England, gave to his relation, Humphrey Purefoy, by whose son Thomas they were given, in 1612, to William Burton, who was then at work upon his History of Leicestershire. William Burton obtained also eight other volumes of Leland's manuscripts, containing notes from his six years of travel and research, described as his "Itinerary." Having used these MSS. in writing his account of Leicestershire, William Burton, in 1632, wisely placed them for perpetual safe custody in the Bodleian Library, which was first opened at Oxford in 1613. Other of Leland's papers, after Sir John Cheke's death, passed to Cheke's eldest son, Henry, who was secretary to the Council established at York for the north of England. Through him they went into the possession of Sir William Cecil, William Lord Paget, and others. These were obtained by Sir Robert Cotton, who, in his noble work as a collector, sought to rescue from loss whatever he could

find of Leland's writings. The MSS. collected by Sir Robert Cotton are now in the safe custody of the nation, gathered into the great treasury of the British Museum. Leland's collections have, since his time, contributed to the strength of many a good piece of history. They were used by Holinshed for his Chronicle, by John Stow for his Survey of London, by William Camden for his Britannia, by Sir William Dugdale in his History of Warwickshire and in his Baronage of England, by William Lambarde in his "Perambulation of Kent," and by many another writer. Michael Drayton's "Polyolbion" was suggested to the poet by Leland's "Itinerary."

Only a few occasional pieces were published by Leland in his lifetime. Among them were Latin verses on the deaths of Sir Thomas Wyatt and of Sir Henry Dudley; a piece on the genealogy of Edward Prince of Wales; a celebration in verse, in 1545, of Henry VIII.'s taking of Boulogne; and praise of the peace in 1546. There was also an assertion of the real existence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's King Arthur, and there was the New Year's gift of 1546—*Strena Henrico Octavo oblata*—which Bale translated into English and printed with addition of his own comments in 1549.

Published Writings of Leland.

Leland's *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* were not published till 1709, when they were edited in two volumes by Antony Hall; and they were followed in the next year, (1710) by the first printing of Leland's "Itinerary through most parts of England and Wales," edited by Thomas Hearne, in nine volumes. Five years later Hearne published in six volumes (1715) Leland's *Collectanea de Rebus Britannicis*. Of the works ascribed by Bale to Leland, not a few are lost.

John Leland died at the age of about forty-seven. John Bale,* born about ten years before him, lived for ten or eleven

* "E. W." vii. 282-284.

years after him, and died in Elizabeth's reign at the age of sixty-eight. Leland had quietly accepted the opinions of the Church Reformers; Bale, who was bred among the Carmelites, fastened upon the reformed opinions fiercely. In 1540, after the fall of Thomas Cromwell, he escaped to Germany, where he maintained the cause of Church Reform by arranging for the press "A brief Chronicle concerning the Examination and Death of the blessed martyr of Christ Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, collected together by John Bale out of the books and writings of those Popish Prelates which were present both at his Condemnation and Judgment." This was published in London on the sixth of August, 1544, by Anthony Scoloker and William Seres, dwelling without Aldersgate. There was added to it "The Examination of Master William Thorpe, priest, accused of heresy before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, the year of our Lord 1407." Foxe in his Martyrology has attributed this latter piece to Tyndal, who was burnt in October, 1536. Probably Foxe is right, although Bale does not directly name Tyndal as author. There is internal evidence in the following passage that the opening address to the reader was written in 1530:—"Who can tell wherefore (not many years past) there were seven burnt in Coventry in one day? Who can tell wherefore that good priest and holy martyr sir Thomas Litton was burnt, now this year, at Maidstone in Kent?" The seven burnt on one day at Coventry were a widow, four shoemakers, a hosier, and a glover, who were burnt in 1521 for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English. The priest burnt at Maidstone was named Hitton, for which Litton is a misprint. He was burnt in 1530, and is mentioned by Tyndal in his "Apology against More," as well as in his "Practice of Prelates." Bale's part in this work was, perhaps, expressed in the following addition to the

Later Life and Writings of John Bale.

Introduction: "This I have corrected and put forth in the English that now is used in England for our southern men, nothing thereto adding, nor yet therefrom minishing. And I intend hereafter, with the help of God, to put it forth in his own old English, which shall well serve, I doubt not, both for the northern men and the faithful brethren of Scotland." But this also may have been written by Tyndal.

In 1546 Bale attacked the monastic life by publishing "The Acts of English Votaries," and in 1547 he followed up his chronicle of the martyrdom of Sir John Oldcastle with the Examination of Anne Askew, daughter of Sir William Askew or Ayscough, of Lincolnshire, who, after suffering the rack, was burned for heresy touching the sacrament, at the age of twenty-five, on the sixteenth of July, 1546. Bale's account of her, shaped as comments of John Bale on statements of her own, was published at Marburg in 1547.

That was the year of the accession of King Edward VI. His uncle, the Earl of Hertford—made Protector and raised to a dukedom—became Duke of Somerset. The power of the Crown in Church matters was strongly maintained. Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, gave willing allegiance, taking out a new commission in which he formally acknowledged the Sovereign's supremacy in Church and State. The Protector quietly freed himself from checks that Henry VIII.'s will had imposed upon his virtual sovereignty, and he was resolved to use his power in support of the aims of the Church Reformers.

Bale then came back to England, and published in 1548, in Latin, the first edition of his great record of English Writers, *Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium in quinque centurias divisum.* It was printed at Ipswich by John Overton. Bale was made rector of Bishopstoke, in Hampshire, and contributed, in 1550, to the Church controversy, "The Image of both Churches, after

the most wonderful and heavenly Revelation of St. John the Evangelist." This is a study of the Book of Revelation, chapter by chapter, in the form of Text and Paraphrase.* In 1551 Bale was presented to the vicarage of Swaffham, in Norfolk. In 1552 Edward VI. came to Southampton, where, says Bale,† "having information that I was there in the street, he marvelled thereat, forsomuch as it had been told him a little before that I was both dead and buried. With that His Grace came to the window, and earnestly beheld me a poor weak creature, as though he had upon me, so simple a subject, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care." The king then called Bale in, and presented him to the Bishopric of Ossory. He went to Ireland, and was consecrated at Dublin on the second of February, 1553, according to the English ritual, which had not then been sanctioned by the Irish Parliament. It was used at Bale's desire, but under protest. That his zeal as a bishop in Ireland outran his discretion may be seen in his own record of his proceedings, entitled "The Vocacyon of John Bale to the Byshopperycke of Ossorie." He gave great offence, and upon the accession of Mary, having preached a sermon at Kilkenny on the duty of obedience, he withdrew to Dublin. Thence he took ship for Holland on Michaelmas Day, 1553. But the ship in which he sailed was taken by pirates, and Bale himself sold as a slave. After many adventures he found his way at last to Basel, where he remained till 1559. During his second exile Bale continued work upon his Summary Account of British Writers, publishing, still in Latin, an enlarged edition, printed by Oporinus ‡ at Basel,

Bale's Summary of British Writers.

* A volume of the publications of the Parker Society, entitled "Select Works of Bishop Bale" (1849), contains the Examinations of Lord Cobham, William Thorpe, and Anne Askew, and "The Image of both Churches."

† "Vocacyon of John Bale."

‡ Oporinus, a native of Basel, was Johann Herbst; as Herbst means

and published in 1557 with a portrait of the author. This edition, in 743 pages folio, extended the record to nine centuries—that is to say, nine hundred writers—the last in the list being Reginald Pole, of whom Bale's last word is that, "he still lives an overthrower of evangelical truth and a most impious betrayer of his country, advising the Emperor that his first care should be to bring all England into his power. May our omnipotent Lord God confound him with all his shaven and anointed ones. Amen." Bale himself grew a substantial spade beard, in defiance of a shaven priesthood. Two years later, in 1559, Oporinus published at Basel a completion of Bale's work in 250 pages, followed by an ample index to both parts. This added five more centuries, as appendices to those which went before, bringing the whole number of writers in the record to fourteen hundred. It acknowledged much obligation to Leland, but was not indebted to him for the notion, prominently set forth on the title page, of including Adam, Seth, and Enoch among writers before the Deluge, to show that from the beginning of the world there were at all times writers in the Church. Bale's fanaticism weakens his best work. But his attempt to bring together short records of the lives, and lists in each case of the writings, of more than a thousand of his countrymen who lived before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, while it must and does inevitably contain many errors, forms a book of lasting value to all faithful students of the past.

From Basel, in 1559, John Bale came back to England, with no strength left for the renewal of conflicts; and during the first year of Elizabeth's reign he lived quietly at

autumn, and ὀπωρινός is Greek for autumnal, he translated his name into Oporinus. He was a good Latin and Greek scholar, and studied medicine before he joined the company of learned printers. Oporinus, who had four wives and many money difficulties, died in 1568, aged sixty-one.

Canterbury, where he had been presented to a prebendal stall in the cathedral. He died in 1563, the year before the birth of Shakespeare.

Bale's "Kyng John"

is a morality play, blended with history. It was written, probably, in the reign of Edward VI., and fitted afterwards to representation early in Elizabeth's reign by a few lines added to its second part. The close of its first part only refers to Henry VIII. as lately dead. King John is treated throughout as a good king, who desired the welfare of the people, but who was ruined, poisoned, and after his death slandered, by the crew of Rome against which he contended.

After declaring himself, King John enters into dialogue with widowed England, parted from her husband, who is

> "For sooth God Himself, the spouse of every sort
> That seek him in faith to the soul's health and comfort."

God is exiled from England, for He abideth not where His Word is refused. Sedition enters as the Vice, and mocks at the complaint of England, who will come again for her answer from the king. Sedition tells the king of his own sway in every monkish sect, and that he is now in England to hold up the Pope, as his ambassador in many countries,

> "That no prince can have his people's obedience
> Except it doth stand with the Pope's pre-eminence."

John threatens, and is threatened again. Clergy and Nobility, together with the Lawyers, in the name of Civil Order, vex and imprison those who preach the Gospel. Sedition slips from the king, who would stop his passage. Nobility, Clergy, Civil Order then successively appear. The king reasons in vain with them against Popery. When at last they have knelt and submitted themselves, and have received command to look to the state of England, the king departs, taking Civil Order with him. Nobility remains on the stage, to be taught amiss by Clergy.

The stage is then left clear for the return of the Vice, Sedition, who meets Dissimulation singing a Litany. They soon know one another for cousins, born of two brothers, Falsehood and Privy Treason. Infidelity was their grandfather, and he was of the strain of Antichrist, the great Pope of Rome. They plot against King John, who threatens their abbeys. Dissimulation will bring in the aid of Private Wealth, a

child of his own bringing up—that is to say, private wealth of the Church—and Private Wealth shall bring in Usurped Power with his authority. They come in singing that their harps are hung up by the waters of Babylon. Then Private Wealth, Dissimulation, and Sedition agree to bear Usurped Power—abstract expression of the Papacy—aloft upon their shoulders, "for there is none of us but in him hath a stroke." Dissimulation presents to Usurped Power writings of the Bishops against King John's treatment of the Clergy. Sedition had been chosen by them Archbishop of Canterbury. Then he said that his name was Stephen Langton. But King John opposed, and Usurped Power took the advice of Sedition as to the right way of dealing with this wicked king:

> "Suspend him and curse him both with your word and writing.
> If that will not help, then interdight his land
> With extreme cruelness; and if that will not stand,
> Cause other princes to revenge the Church's wrong—
> It will profit you to set them to work among.
> For clean remission one king will subdue another,
> Yea, the child sometime will slay both father and mother."

While they prepare for this, Dissimulation plays the part of Chorus to set forth their doings. Then Usurped Power re-enters dressed as the Pope (Innocent III.), Private Wealth as a Cardinal (Pandulph), who brings in the Cross, and Sedition as Stephen Langton, with book, bell, and candle. King John is then formally excommunicated, and the Pope plans how he shall advance his power. He will call a General Council to ratify his decisions, and make them of like strength with the Gospel. The First Act of the play then ends with the speech of the Interpreter, in five Chaucer stanzas, telling how it has been shown that Satan debarred the good King John from his good purpose of Church reformation, and that

> "In the Second Act this will appear more plain,
> Wherein Pandulphus shall him excommunicate
> Within this his land and depose him from his reign.
> All other princes they shall move him to hate,
> And to persecute after most cruel rate.
> They will him poison in their malignity,
> And cause ill report of him always to be."

In the Second Act, accordingly, Sedition, in a religious habit, saps the loyalty of Nobility in the privacy of ear-confession. Nobility goes

out. Clergy and Civil Order come in. They recognise in Sedition Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they welcome. He shows them relics, which are catalogued with all the coarseness of Bale's own rude scorn. He gives them absolution, and engages them to aid the Church's quarrel. King John then enters, and they hide themselves. Private Wealth comes to King John in the shape of Cardinal Pandulph, and joins threats to exorbitant demands on the Pope's behalf. John answers:

> "Avaunt, peevish priest! Why dost thou threaten me?
> I defy the worst both of thy Pope and thee.
> The power of princes is given from God above,
> And, as saith Solomon, their hearts the Lord doth move.
> God speaketh in their lips when they give judgément,
> The laws that they make are by the Lord's appointment.
> Christ willed not his the princes to correct,
> But to their precepts rather to be subjéct.
> The office of you is not to bear the sword,
> But to give counsel according to God's word.
> He never taught his to wear neither sword ne sallet,
> But to preach abroad without staff, scrip, or wallet;
> Yet an ye become such mighty lords this hour,
> That ye are able to subdue all princes' power,
> I cannot perceive but ye are become Bel's priests,
> Living by idols, yea, the very antichrists."

The answer to this is the curse of Rome, followed by the voice of Sedition *extra locum* expressed by the lines—

> "Alarum! Alarum! tro ro ro ro ro, tro ro ro ro ro, tro ro ro ro ro!
> Thomp, thomp, thomp, downe, downe, downe, to go, to go, to go!"

Nobility, Civil Order, Clergy, fall from King John, who appeals in vain to Scripture. Says Clergy:

> "I pass not on the Scripture. That is enow for me
> Which the Holy Father approveth by his auctority."

England, the widow, parted from God her true spouse, comes in with the blind Commonalty, who has become blind "for want of knowledge in Christ's lively verity." Commonalty has lost his substance, he says,

> "By priests, canons, and monks, which do but fill their belly
> With my sweat and labour for their popish purgatory."

But Commonalty is misled when Sedition, entering again as Cardinal Pandulph, admonishes him; and King John yields to the Pope at last, when threatened with foreign invasion that will add to the distresses of his people. John agrees to hold his crown of Rome. He is at once pressed with extortionate demands for money. Then Treason enters as a priest who has falsified the king's coin. King John would send him to be hanged, but he is freed by Pandulph, who claims him as a Churchman and the Church's friend. Order is given that the church doors be opened and *Te Deum* sung, but Sedition plans meanwhile against King John:

> "Marry fetch in Lewis, King Philip's son, of France,
> To fall upon him with his men and ordynance,
> With wildfire, gunpowder, and such like merry tricks
> To drive him to hold and scorch him in the quicks."

Dissimulation is looked for, and comes. Where has he been?—

> "In the garden, man, the herbs and weeds among;
> And there have I got the poison of a toad.
> I hope in a while to work some feat abroad."

Dissimulation has use for his poison. He tells in confession that he means to give it to King John in a drink, and take half of it to encourage him "to drink the bottom off." He takes the name, therefore, of Father Simon, of Swinstead, carries out his plan, and, as he says, dies for the Church with Thomas of Canterbury.

After King John's last words and death, and the lament of England, the stage is left clear, and Verity—Gospel Truth—enters. Verity maintains that John was a man both valiant and godly, though Polydore Vergil reports ill of him at the suggestion of a malicious clergy. Verity brings Nobility, Clergy, and Civil Order, to yield themselves to the supreme authority of an Anointed King, upon whose Supremacy, derived from God, Bale more than once expatiates in a way suggestive of the strength given by the most ardent reformers, in their battle agains Papacy, to an undue claim of prerogative in Kings. Then enters Imperial Majesty, by whom Verity is supported, and whom Verity supports. All past offences are forgiven, and Verity bids all

> "For God's sake obey, like as doth you befall,
> For in his own realm a king is over all,
> By God's appointment, and none may him judge again
> But the Lord himself: in this the Scripture is plain.

He that condemneth a king, condemneth God without doubt;
He that harmeth a king, to harm God goeth about.

. . . . . .

I charge you, therefore, as God hath chargéd me,
To give to your king his due supremitý,
And exile the Pope this realm for evermore.

Omnes una:

We shall gladly do according to your lore."

There is more enforcement of Royal Supremacy. Sedition is caught, makes free confession of the practices of Rome, on promise of immunity, and is then sent to be drawn to Tyburn, hanged, and quartered. Imperial Majesty gives to the rest the kiss of peace. Then says Civil Order of the teaching of the whole play:

"Here was to be seen what riseth of Sedition,
And how he doth take his maintenance and ground
Of idle persons brought up in superstition,
Whose daily practice is always to confound
Such as mindeth virtue, and to them will not be bound.
Expedient it is to know their pestilent ways,
Considering they were so busy now of late days."

That is the last of three Chaucer stanzas which, perhaps, ended the piece before Elizabeth's accession to the throne. To these were added three more Chaucer stanzas beginning—

"England hath a Queen, thanks to the Lord above,
Which may be a light to other princes all
For the godly ways whom she doth daily move
To her liege people, through God's Word special";

continuing with praise, and ending with a prayer that she may live to the age of Nestor, that her offspring may live to subdue Antichrist, and that her honourable Council may be preserved, "to the praise of God and glory of the Gospel."

The last stanzas, at any rate, were written at Canterbury, where Bale may have planned a representation of his "King John," at some date between 1559 and 1563.

Let us now turn to the work of other men whose activity

was first shown in the reign of Henry VIII., and the record of whose work passes on into the reigns next following.

Rhymed versions of the psalms in language of the people, set to tunes familiar among them, and old songs, with their words changed, without change of tune, from secular to spiritual,* had their origin from Luther. He led the choir in 1524 with his *Gesangbuch.* He loved music himself, and knew the power of song. Twenty-one of the three dozen songs written by him were produced in that year, seven of these being taken from the Psalms of David. Others were adaptations of songs of the people, only eight of the whole thirty-six being entirely original. Luther's example was, in this respect, so energetically followed by the Germans, that there was developed a great body of a hundred thousand hymns and psalms and spiritual songs by many writers, all of them men in earnest, few of them poets, for the church, the home, the field, the workshop, for the music of the daily life.

Coverdale's Psalms.

The first metrical version of some of the Psalms published in England was by Miles Coverdale, entitled "Goostly psalmes and spiritual songes drawen out of the holy Scripture for the comfort and consolacyon of such as love to rejoyse in God and his worde."† There is an address of "Myles Coverdale unto the Christen reader," expressing a desire that carters, ploughmen, women at their spinning

* Thus the song which began "Innspruck, ich muss dich lassen" was made to begin "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen," and with us when this practice was followed in England, a song beginning "Come, love, let's walk in yonder spring," was changed into "Come, Lord, let's walk on Sion hill," "The Robin Redbreast and the Thrush" were transformed into "Prophets, 'Postles, and just folk," "Song of the Mavis" became "Song of the Angels," and the burden, "This to my Love, this to my Love, Content will bring," began "This to my Soul."

† It was printed by the Parker Society in Coverdale's Remains, in 1846. Of the original volume there is a copy at Queen's College, Oxford. The book is excessively rare.

wheels, should whistle and sing songs of David, or of Debora, or Mary the mother of Christ, with which they would be "better occupied than with hey nony nony, hey tooly loly, and such lyke fantasies." The selection, almost wholly from the German, rendered by Coverdale for this purpose into various metres, was printed without date by John Gough, whose dated books show that he was at work from 1536 to 1543. One of them, Coverdale's translation of a sermon by Osiander, is dated 1537, and as Coverdale left England in 1540 and did not return till 1547, his Psalms could hardly have been printed later than the year 1540.

Versified Psalms: Sternhold and Hopkins.

On New Year's Day, 1540, when Francis I. and Charles V. rode into Paris together, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, Ambassador Extraordinary from England, was commissioned to search quietly into the minds of those two princes, Clément Marot presented to King Francis his translation of thirty of the Psalms of David, set to light song tunes or airs from the vaudevilles. Marot translated twenty more; they became even fashionable substitutes for songs on idler themes. Calvin adopted them—when set to graver strains, written specially for them by Guillaume Franc—for use in the churches of Geneva, and published them with a preface of his own, in which he commended the fit use of Church music. In England Thomas Sternhold felt the new impulse, and translated during Henry VIII.'s reign some of the Psalms into English. Sternhold was born in Hampshire, and after education at Oxford became groom of the robes to Henry VIII., who liked him well enough to bequeath him a hundred marks. He desired to do with his psalms in England what had been done in France by Marot, "thinking thereby that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, but did not, only some few excepted," whose religion we respect more than their taste.

Sternhold, who died in 1549, published in 1548 "Certayne Psalms," only nineteen in number. In 1549 there appeared, with a dedication to Edward VI., a new edition of "All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sternhold, late grome of the Kinges Majestyes robes, did in his lyfe time drawe into Englysshe metre." This contained thirty-seven Psalms by Sternhold and seven by John Hopkins, a Suffolk clergyman and schoolmaster, who joined in his labour. John Hopkins was a younger man who had taken his B.A. at Oxford in 1544. To an edition of 1551 Hopkins added seven more psalms of his own. Hopkins and others then worked on with the desire to produce a complete version of the Psalms of David in a form suited for congregational singing. When completed, this version contained forty-three psalms versified by Sternhold, fifty-six by Hopkins, and the rest by other writers, among whom were William Whittingham, Thomas Norton, William Kethe, who wrote the Old Hundredth, Thomas Bastard, and others, who worked chiefly during exile in the reign of Mary. Hopkins died in 1570, rector of Great Waldingfield in Suffolk.

The Scottish Reformers of those days produced matter for "Ane Compendious Buik of Godlie Psalmes and Spirituall Sangis, collectit furthe of sindrie partis of the Scripture, with diueris utheris ballatis changeit out of prophane sangis," and set the best of the gay tunes to new words, breathing love of God or defiance of the Pope, in this fashion:

Godly and Spiritual Songs.

"The paip, that pagane full of pryd,
He hes us blinded lang;
For where the blind the blind doe gyde,
No wonder both goe wrang.
Of all iniquitie,
Like prince and king, hee led the ring.
Hay trix, trim goe trix, under the grenwode tree."

The foundation of this collection was laid about the year

1540 by two brothers, John and Robert Wedderburn. These were two of three brothers, sons of James Wedderburn, merchant, of Dundee, all educated in their youth under Mr. Gawin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrew's. They were all tainted, in the eyes of Cardinal Beaton, with goodwill to the Church Reformers, and like their teacher, Gawin Logie, who had influenced their minds, they were all driven out of the land by Beaton's violence.

The Wedderburns.

James, the eldest of the brothers, fled to France, and was at Rouen and Dieppe until he died. David Calderwood left record of him that "this James had a good gift of poesie, and made divers comedies and tragedies in the Scottish tongue, wherein he nipped the abuses and superstition of the time. He composed in form of tragedy the beheading of John the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundee, wherein he carped roughly the abuses and corruptions of the Papists. He compiled the History of Dionysius the Tyranne, in form of a comedy, which was acted in the play-field of the said burgh, wherein he likewise nipped the Papists. He counterfeited also the conjuring of a ghost, which was, indeed, practised by Friar Laing beside Kinghorn" (in county Fife, three miles from Kirkcaldy), "which Friar Laing had been confessor to the King. But after this conjuring the King was constrained, for shame, to remove him."

John Wedderburn, the second brother, driven in like manner from Dundee, went to Germany. There, says Calderwood, "he heard Luther and Melanchthon, and became very fervent and zealous. He translated many of Luther's dytements into Scottish metre, and the Psalms of David. He turned many bawdy songs and rhymes in godly rhymes."

Robert Wedderburn, the youngest of the three brothers, graduated at St. Andrew's in 1530. He took refuge in Paris,

but returned to Scotland after the death of Cardinal Beaton, and became, in succession to his uncle, Vicar of Dundee.

John and Robert Wedderburn were, doubtless, the first writers of the Psalms and Godly Ballads known of old as Wedderburn's, which are contained, with later additions, in the "Compendious Buik." That book was wholly lost for a century, before the finding of one copy of an edition printed by Andrew Hart in 1621, from which Lord Hailes printed selections in 1765, and which was wholly reprinted in 1801 in Dalyell's "Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century." A second copy of Andrew Hart's edition of 1621 was found a few years later, and also a copy of an earlier edition, printed by Robert Smith in the year 1600. No more of that edition has been found, though there is record that at Robert Smith's death he had in stock 1,034 copies of these "Dundee Psalms." Last came the finding of a copy of an edition "Imprentit at Edinburgh be Iohne Ros for Henrie Charteris. M.D.LXXVIII. Cum priuilegio Regali." This is the earliest edition of which an example has been found, but it was not the first; for its title-page sets forth that it was issued "with augmentation of sindrie gude and godlie Ballatis not contained in the first edition." *

To Robert Wedderburn has been ascribed, also, the writing of a prose piece, "The Complaynt of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the Thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public veil." The date of the writing of this book, 1549, is fixed by a calculation in it, that as the world was to last 6,000 years, and we had already

"The Complaint of Scotland."

* David Laing published, in 1868, a page for page reprint of this 1578 edition, as "A Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as the Gude and Godlie Ballates," with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. Its publishers were W. Paterson, Edinburgh; Frederick Shaw, Dundee; and J. Russell Smith, London.

passed 1,548 of the last 2,000, there remained only 452. The spelling of the text throughout this book without a letter w (as "vyth" for "wyth" and "veil" for "weill" upon the title-page) indicates a printing press without a letter w among its types. There are numerous mistakes of letters, made in a way not possible to compositors familiar with the language, and these point also to a printing of the book in France. The little book is set in Roman type, which was not used in Scotland until long after the date of the "Complaint."

Only four old copies of "The Complaint of Scotland" are known to exist, and one of these has been lost sight of. Two of the remaining three are now in the British Museum, and one in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. Two of the three once belonged to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and were entered in his Catalogue as "Vedderburn's Complaint of Scotland." From all copies the title-pages are now lost, and we do not now know what was the authority for naming Wedderburn as author. Some evidence there must have been.

While this points to the authorship of Robert Wedderburn, it is objected that the author of "The Complaint of Scotland" is not bitter in attack upon the clergy, and writes as an ecclesiastic in the service of the Church. But Robert Wedderburn could not have been Vicar of Dundee if he had been more than an orthodox ecclesiastic with a liberal desire for reformation of abuses. He could not, in any case, have written the more violent and controversial of the "Godlie Ballets." It is objected, also, that the dialect of the book is that of Southern Scotland, and could not have been written by a native of Dundee. But the Court at Edinburgh was placed in Southern Scotland, and must have formed to a great extent the standard of speech among educated and travelled men in all parts of the land. We learn from Calderwood that Robert was the most learned of the three

brothers. David Laing was inclined to ascribe to him the authorship of "The Complaint of Scotland," which is crammed with fruits of erudition.

Dr. John Leyden, who printed an edition of the book in 1801,* with an elaborate preliminary Dissertation, produced many parallels of style and matter between "The Complaint" and Lindsay's poems, to support his opinion that this was a prose work of Sir David Lindsay's. Against that view it is urged that Lindsay was not an ecclesiastic, that he was at the date of "The Complaint" an active Reformer, and that he was without hostility to England. Moreover, the author of "The Complaint" calls it his first work.

Another suggested author was Sir James Inglis, the poet, who died Abbot of Culross; but he died—murdered—in 1531, seventeen or eighteen years before this book was written. There was another priest named Sir James Inglis, who was, from about 1508 to 1550, chaplain of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, and sang masses for the souls of James III. and his wife. Dr. James A. H. Murray, the latest editor of "The Complaynt of Scotland,"† considers nothing to be certain of the author but that he was a distinct and thorough partisan of the French side; that he was a Churchman still attached to the Catholic faith; that he was a native of the Southern, not improbably of the Border, counties." ‡

* "The Complaynt of Scotland," written in 1548, with a preliminary Dissertation and Glossary. Edinburgh, 1801.

Also, in 1802, "Observations on the Complaynt of Scotland."

† Early English Text Society, 1872. With an Appendix of Contemporary English Tracts, an Introduction, and a Glossary.

‡ "Sir David Lyndsay," Dr. Murray adds, "is peremptorily excluded from consideration; no less so, I think, is Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; in lack of further evidence the claims of Sir James Inglis, of Cambuskenneth, and of some unknown priest of the name of Wedderburn, are equally balanced, though if the part of Mackenzie's Life which

"*The Complaynt of Scotlande*"

was written at a time when the loyal Scots felt bitterly towards England. The Protector Somerset, in pursuance of the last policy of Henry VIII. to marry his son Edward to young Mary Queen of Scots by process of persuasion, and, if that failed, by force, went early in Edward's reign with a great force to the north, and caused the death of ten thousand Scots, on the tenth of December, 1547, in a crushing defeat of their army at Pinkie Cleugh. The victory was praised in London, cursed in Edinburgh, and the object of the strife was put well out of reach, for the young queen was made safe in Paris. Nothing was gained by force but the fresh stirring of hatred; and on the fifth of the next February the Protector and the Council addressed a persuasive letter "to the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons, and all others the inhabitants of the Realm of Scotland." After this, while Scotland's wound still bled, the author of "The Complaint" addressed his countrymen.

He dedicated his book to the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland. He ascribed the grief of the land to three causes —the inroads of the English, the universal pestilence and mortality, and the contention of divers of the Three Estates of Scotland. He exalted the Regent, while presenting to her, as he said, "ane tracteit of the fyrst laubir of my pen." When none might come before the Persian kings without a gift, a poor man ran to a fountain and came before Darius with his two hands full of fresh water. Darius received the gift, and repaid it with six thousand pieces of gold and a golden water-laver. Christ favoured the oblation of the poor widow in the Temple. Its writer's trust is that Her Grace will receive as humanely this poor offering.

To the reader he tells how old kings and philosophers had required of every man to work that he might live. His work was with the pen, true work, and useful as a handicraft. No man is made like the Delphic sword, that served for hammer, pincers, file, sword, knife, and borer all in one. Each has his faculty, and Aristotle said that all sorts of crafts should concur together, each one to help others as nature provided first in the beginning. In this way the writer proceeds, with ingenious use of a large knowledge of books.

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calls Inglis a Fife man belongs to this Inglis, the evidence of dialect would be against him." Dr. James A. H. Murray, editor of the great English Dictionary founded on materials supplied by the Philological Society, is our best living authority upon the Southern Scottish dialect.

The "Complaint of Scotland" begins with a chapter on the growth and decay of nations in accordance with the will of God. Fortune was not the cause of the disaster at Pinkie Cleugh. The author had considered the great sorrows of the land, he had sought to learn from Scripture whether they should be received as merciful chastisements of a Father or as merciless dooms of a Judge, and his spirit was troubled when he read the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, the twenty-sixth of Leviticus, and the third of Isaiah. All the plagues there threatened have fallen upon Scotland, and the world is near its end.

Here there is interposed a recreative Monologue by the author, who goes on a June night into the fields, hears the birds, and finds a name for the cry of every bird in a long list; then goes to the sea side and sees a galliasse prepared for war, repeats all cries of the busy sailors as if for future use of a marine dictionary maker, brings the galliasse into action with a ship, and makes words for the noises of different guns. Then he returns to the fields, eats curds and milk with shepherds, and hears the chief shepherd exalt their state with classical citations, and give also a long lesson in astronomy. Then the shepherd's wife asks for an end of prosing, and will have a tale; upon which the author proceeds to give a long list, now valuable, of the names of the tales then most liked by the people. After this, the shepherds and their wives sang, played, and danced; whereupon the author gives a list of popular songs, of eight musical instruments in use, and of favourite dances. Next the author went into a meadow; and this gives occasion for a long list of the names of plants. Then he slept and dreamt, and his dream brought him back to the complaint of Scotland.

This Monologue, as Dr. James A. H. Murray clearly shows, was interpolated after the completion of the book. I take it to be a perfectly distinct piece of writing—designed, possibly, for use in teaching children—which the author liked, and made a place for in his little book; of which little book, in fact, it is now to a student of language the most interesting part.

Then, in the dream, Scotland appeared as a woman in trouble. The upper part of her mantle, embroidered with precious stones, displays shields, spears, and other emblems of Nobility; the middle part, with figures of books and signs of sciences, represented the Spiritualitie; figures of oxen, corn, plants, merchandise on the lower part, which was much torn, stood for the Commons. Dame Scotia met with her three sons, these three Estates. Nobility, that should afford knightly protection, was ready to fly from her in abject fear. Spirituality brought a book, with its clasps fastened and rusted. Commons, her youngest son, "was lyand flat on his side on the cald eird, ande al his

clathis var reuyn and raggit, makkande ane dolorus lamentatione, ande ane piteouse complaynt. He tuke grite pane to ryise vp on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp." Dame Scotia, their mother, told them how she had fallen from her state of triumph, and found the cause of her grief in them. Let them each in turn now listen to her reproach. Where is their patriotism? Where is their trust in one another? The author, through Dame Scotia, proceeds then to urge on each of the Estates its part in causing the afflictions of the land. The author, who had started, like Gower in the *Vox Clamantis*, with denial of the rule of a blind Fortune, and had echoed Gower's doctrine that whatever evil happens to us *nos sumus in causa*, reminds us also of the *Vox Clamantis* by his search for causes of the troubles of the land in the misdoing of the people through all orders of society. The book is animated by a passionate hostility to England. This part of it begins with chapters upon the rights of Scotland, recalls twelve hundred years of hatred, and the wrongs after wrongs that Scotland had endured from English kings. Remember the Barns of Ayr.* When the English Warden came, in March, 1547, to hold a court in the West Marches of Scotland, says Dame Scotia, he was repulsed. The gentlemen of the West Country got the spoil of his people, "within the which spoil they got two barrels full of cords, and every cord but one fathom of length with a loop on the end all ready made, which they ordained to have hanged so many Scotsmen as they purposed to have vanquished at that journay." There must be no submission. The last words of the book are warnings of Dame Scotia against acceptance of Somerset's dissembled peace. The way to true peace was by war. If the Estates held firmly together, God, he believed, would make them an instrument "til extinct that false generatione furtht of rememorance: and sa fayr veil.

Heir endis the complaynt of Scotland."

An appended motto from Cicero says there is nothing baser than that the life of the wise should depend on the speech of the unwise. The wise here meant was the good Scot, in whom it would be base to yield to the faint-hearted talk of those who looked to England, and were ready to accept the peace she offered them.

We left Sir David Lindsay in Scotland in the year 1540,†

* "E. W." vi. 250. † "E. W." vii. 262.

at the time of the production of his "Satire of the Three Estates." After the death of James V., Lindsay went officially as Lion King at Arms to deliver back to Charles V., in the Netherlands, the late king's badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1544-6 he sat in three Parliaments as member for Cupar. Luther died on the eighteenth of February, 1546. On the twenty-eighth of May, in the same year, occurred the event moralised by Lindsay in his poem called "The Tragedie of the vmquhille" (whilom) "maist reverend father, David, be the mercy of God, Cardinal and Archibyschope of Sanct Androvs," &c. Here Lindsay told in Chaucer's seven-lined stanza how, when he was sitting in his oratory, reading Boccaccio on the "Falls of Illustrious Men," there appeared to him

Sir David Lindsay.

The Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton.

> "Ane woundit man, aboundantlie bledýng,
> With visage paill, and with ane dedlye cheir,
> Semand ane man of two-and-fifty yeir,
> In rayment reid clothet full curiouslie,
> Off vellot and of saiting crammosie."

"With feeble voice, as man opprest with pain," he declared himself to be the late Cardinal Beaton, and told the story of his life, and of his fall from the height of power. He was slain, and his body, salted and closed in a box, lay for seven months in a dunghill without Christian burial. Let all my brother prelates, said the ghost, amend their lives, remembering that they will be called to account for everything belonging to their cures:

> "Ye prelat, quhilk hes thousandis for to spende,
> Ye send ane sempyll freir for you to preche;
> It is your craft—I mak it yow to kend—
> Your selfis in your templis for to teche."

The death of Beaton brought together Knox and Lindsay, for Lindsay was then among those who persuaded Knox to his first preaching.

John Knox was born in 1505, at Gifford, in East Lothian. He was educated in the Grammar School at Haddington, and in 1522 matriculated in St. Andrew's University, which then had John Mair for its provost. He took priests' orders, but was drawn to the side of the Reformers, and became the friend and follower of George Wishart, brother of the laird of Pittarow, in Mearns, who had been banished by the Bishop of Brechin for teaching the Greek Testament in Montrose. Wishart had been living for some years at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Thence he came to Scotland in 1543, and, though of a gentle character, preached with intense enthusiasm. Thus he stirred among the people violent antagonism to the practices that he denounced, so that they wept over them in themselves, and raged at them in others. John Knox, to protect his beloved preacher, whose assassination had been once attempted, waited upon him bearing a two-handed sword.

John Knox.

Flesh and blood went for little in the growing heat of spiritual conflict. On the twentieth of November, 1541, at Geneva, Calvin's ecclesiastical and moral code was established. Under this code it was forbidden to read "Amadis of Gaul," or any romances. Three children were solemnly punished for stopping outside to eat apples after service had begun. In 1568 a child was beheaded for having struck her parents. A lad of sixteen was sentenced to death for only threatening to strike his mother. And this was called the "Yoke of Christ."

Knox was tutor to the sons of Hugh Douglas, laird of Langniddrie, in East Lothian, who had become a Protestant, and of his neighbour, John Cockburn, of Ormiston. When Wishart was seized as a heretic, Knox desired to share his fate. "Nay," said Wishart; "return to your bairns" (his pupils), "and God bless you. One is enough for a sacrifice." Wishart's martyrdom, in March, 1545, witnessed by

Beaton from his velvet cushions at a window of the castle of St. Andrew's, was followed in May, 1546, by the murder of Beaton. Of Cardinal Beaton's use of extreme penalties against heresy, it was said that he caused the Governor of Perth to hang four honest men for eating a goose on Friday. His assassination had been for two years the subject of a conspiracy, of which both Wishart and King Henry VIII. had an assenting knowledge. To Wishart and others, plot of such a murder was honest question of hewing Agag in pieces. Beaton's deathblow was prefaced by the man who dealt it with a deliberate speech, declaring it to be about to fall "only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and His Gospel." The sixteen men who had surprised Beaton in his castle held it, and welcomed into it all men whose zeal for Reformed opinions brought them within the danger of the Scottish hierarchy. The chief murderers of Beaton, who was Henry's most vigorous political antagonist in Scotland, received pensions from the King of England; and the garrison—Castilians, as they were called—in the strong castle by the sea, received also supplies of money and victuals from Henry VIII. In April, 1547, Knox joined the Castilians. Knox's pupils, the sons of the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, went into the castle with him, and were taught there and catechised publicly, as they had been at Langniddrie, in a chapel of which the ruin is still called John Knox's Kirk. Sir David Lindsay also joined the Castilians. Their chaplain had been worsted in argument by an orthodox dean. Knox came to the rescue with his pen. Then many of them urged Knox to preach. He had renounced his priests' orders, and said he had no vocation; but it was urged on him that every congregation has an inherent right to call any qualified person to be its teacher.

The regular preacher to the St. Andrews' garrison was John Rough, a reformer about five years younger than

Knox. Knox was urged to share his work, and refused to intrude on the regular ministrations. But on a fixed day Rough preached a sermon on the right of a congregation, however small, to elect a minister, and the responsibility incurred by one who had fit gifts if he refused the call. Then, in the name of the congregation, he publicly turned to Knox and said, "Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces unto you." Then the preacher, turning to the congregation, said, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was, and we approve it." Knox, overwhelmed with emotion, burst into tears and left the assembly. He shut himself in his chamber, and records in his own history that "his countenance and behaviour from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together."

Sir David Lindsay's latest and longest poem, "The Monarchie," finished in 1553, may have been suggested by a sermon that Knox preached in this year 1547, against the Church of Rome. Dean John Annand having in public controversy sheltered himself behind authority of the Church, Knox replied that authority of the Church depended on

acceptance of her as the lawful spouse of Christ. "For your Roman Church," he said, "as it is now corrupted, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be that Man of Sin of whom the Apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman Church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in days of the Apostles than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." Called upon to make good his challenge, Knox preached next Sunday in the parish church, and interpreting Daniel's vision of four beasts as a vision of the four Empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, he took for his text, "The Fourth Beast shall be the Fourth Kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise; and another shall rise after them, and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." This king John Knox identified with him who is elsewhere called the Man of Sin, the Antichrist; describing not a single person, but a body of people under a wicked headship held by a succession of persons. He argued that the Papal rule was Antichristian by describing it under the three heads of life, doctrine, and law. Of the effect of this sermon Knox wrote himself, in his history, "Some said, 'Others hewed the branches of Papistry, but he striketh at the root to destroy the whole.' Others said, 'If the doctors and magistri nostri

defend not now the Pope and his authority, which in their own presence is so manifestly impugned, the devil have my part of him and his laws both.' Others said 'Mr. George Wishart spake never so plainly, and yet he was burnt; even so will he be in the end.' Others said, 'The tyranny of the Cardinal made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse. And, therefore, we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that always ye shall be disappointed. Men now have other eyes than they had then.' This answer gave the laird of Niddrie."

Lindsay's "Squire Meldrum."

Lindsay had written, probably before the accession of Edward VI., his "Historie of Squire William Meldrum, umquhile laird of Cleishe and Bynnis," a whimsical burlesque romance that is not all burlesque, of a valiant Scottish squire of Lindsay's own time, with a taste in it of Chaucer's Sir Thopas, or rather of the Italian half-mocking treatment of heroic song, and an after relish of strong national self-satisfaction. This is the best of Lindsay's lighter strains.

Lindsay's "Monarchie."

His last work was his longest, and supremely grave—"The Monarchie: a Dialogue betwixt Experience and a Courtier, of the Miserable Estate of the World"—finished in 1553. The first line of its Epistle to the Reader called it a "lytil quair of mater miserabyll." There was, alas, no king to dedicate it to, but it was submitted to the rulers and priests, praying them to Christianise the laws, and remember that Scotland suffered war, famine, and pestilence for sin. The Word of God must be taught, and the people repent of sin, before their enemies could have no might against the Christian banner. He divided his poem into a prologue and four books. The prologue, in Chaucer's stanza, told how the poet went into a park on a May morning, and, delighted with the beauty of Nature, dwelt upon the miseries of man. He invoked no

pagan Muse, for he had never slept upon Parnassus, or drunk with Hesiod of Helicon the source of Eloquence. If any Muse were invoked, it might be Rhamnusia, Goddess of Dispute; but he said:—

> "I mon go seik ane muse more comfortabyll,
> And sic vaine superstitioun to refuse,
> Beseikand the gret God to be my muse."

The mount to which he betook himself was not Parnassus but Calvary; his fountain was the stream that flowed, and flows yet, through the world from wounds of Christ upon the Cross. In that stream bathe me, he prayed, and make me clean from sin—

> "And grant me grace to wrytt nor dyte no thing
> Bot tyll his heyche honoûr and loude louyng;
> But" (*i.e.*, without) "whose support thare may na gud be wrocht
> Tyll his plesûre, gude workis, word, nor thocht."

After such prologue, Lindsay told in his first book—this and the rest of the poem being in octosyllabic rhyme—how there came to him, the Courtier, walking in the park, an old man named Experience, of whom he asked comforting counsel. Experience taught that the love of God and of Christ, who died for men, gave comfort among the troubles that have come by sin. After an exclamation to the reader on his writing in his mother tongue, which led to a requirement that the clergy should teach, and that the books necessary to the spiritual life of men should be translated into the language of the people, Lindsay made Experience tell the Courtier, in the rest of Book I. how Adam fell, and the flood came, through sin; in Book II., how in the great monarchy of Nineveh the first war was begun "by cruel, prideful, covetous kings," seeking wrongfully to plunder one another. There were four great monarchies—the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. Ninus also invented image worship;

and thus Lindsay passed to long lament for the idolatry in Scotland of his time. Of Ninus and his burial, and of the miserable ends of Semiramis and Sardanapalus, Lindsay told in his second book. In his third book he told of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain, and shortly of the second, third, and fourth monarchies, with the miserable destruction of Jerusalem; and lastly, of the spiritual and papal monarchy. Under this head appeared again the grief of the poor man, whose three cows would be taken by the Church if he, his wife, and their eldest child should die, so that the little children would be left orphan and destitute. Lindsay's third book of the Monarchy ended with a description of the Court of Rome. The fourth book, after dialogue on duty and on death, described Antichrist, the day of judgment, bliss of heaven, and the final monarchy of Christ. David Lindsay was a poet of the same national type as John Gower. He had not the artistic genius of Dunbar, as Gower had not the artistic genius of Chaucer; but Gower and Lindsay had a like sense of God and duty, a depth of earnestness that was itself a power, a practical aim, and a directness in pursuit of it, that caused each in didactic poetry to "write the ills he saw." The points of difference are manifest; especially there was in Lindsay a vein of humour, which also belongs to the people whom he represented, but of which Gower seems to have had less than his share.

The Last of Lindsay.

Sir David Lindsay, as Lion King of Arms, held a chapter of heralds in January, 1555, and that is the last record of his life. It is not known when he died, or where he was buried; but it may be added that in that year 1555 his "Satire of the Three Estates" was acted again before Queen, Court, and Commons.

At the end of June, 1547, the Reformers in St. Andrew's Castle were, with the help of a French fleet and French

soldiers, beset by land and sea. At the end of July they capitulated, and Knox became a chained prisoner in a French galley, under conditions that brought on danger-
ous fever. When, on one occasion, an image of John Knox.
the Virgin was brought round for the prisoners to kiss; Knox said, "Trouble me not. Such an idol is accursed, therefore I will not touch it." When it was forced on him, he threw it into the river, saying, "Let our Lady now save herself. She is light enough, let her swim." After nineteen months of imprisonment he was set free, in February, 1549. Edward VI. was then King of England, and John Knox, welcomed by the Privy Council, was at once sent to preach in Berwick.

In April, 1550, John Knox, cited to appear at Newcastle, justified himself for preaching that the mass, at its best, was an idolatrous substitute for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In 1551 he preached chiefly at Newcastle, and in December of that year he was made one of King Edward's six chaplains in ordinary, each paid with a salary of forty pounds. Two of them were to be always present with the king, and four to preach elsewhere in appointed districts. Knox's influence produced modifications of the form of administering the Communion as set forth in King Edward's first service-book, modifications planned to shut out the Roman doctrine of real presence.

At Berwick, John Knox engaged himself to Miss Marjorie Bowes, whom he married in 1553, after the death of Edward VI., under whom his scruples as to the constitution of the English Church caused him to refuse first the living of All Hallows, and afterwards a bishopric. After the change of reign Knox at first hoped to live quietly in the north of England, but it was soon made evident to him that he must leave the country, and he crossed to Dieppe at the end of January, 1554.

Returning to Dieppe from time to time for news from

his wife and friends in England, John Knox presently found a friend in John Calvin, a man of his own age, in Geneva. In August, 1555, he used opportunity of paying a visit to his wife at Berwick, and went quietly to Edinburgh, where he preached to a small gathering of Protestants, who then showed a growing desire to be taught by him. He stirred some to enthusiasm, persuaded them against outward conformity to Roman forms, and established formal separation. In a hall at Calder House, in West Lothian, hangs a picture of John Knox, with an inscription on the back, saying that "The first sacrament of the supper given in Scotland after the Reformation was dispensed in this hall." The reference is to this visit to Scotland at the close of 1555. Knox was invited by Erskine of Dun to his home in Angus, and there for a month preached daily to the chief people of the neighbourhood. Then he went to Calder House, where his host was Sir James Sandilands, chief of the Knights Hospitallers in Scotland. Among those who attended Knox's preachings at Calder House were Archibald Lord Lorne, afterwards Earl of Argyle; John Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar; and Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray. At the beginning of 1556 Lockhart of Bar and Campbell of Kineancleuch took Knox to Kyle, where there were many advanced Reformers. Next he was with the family of the Earl of Glencairn at Finlayson. Then he was at Calder House again, and then again at Dun, where many gentlemen received the Sacrament sitting at the Lord's Table, and entered into a covenant binding themselves to renounce the Popish Communion and maintain the pure preaching of the Gospel as they had opportunity. Knox's preaching had by this time stirred so many that he was summoned before a convention of the clergy that was to meet in the church of the Black Friars (Dominicans) of Edinburgh on the 15th of May, 1556. He went boldly and unexpectedly with Erskine of Dun and other gentlemen;

but, as the Queen Regent discouraged action against him, the citation was set aside on ground of informality, and Knox, master of the situation, spent that 15th of May, and the ten following days, forenoon and afternoon, in preaching to large audiences.

While thus busy in Scotland, Knox was made one of its pastors by the English congregation at Geneva. He accepted the call, and in the summer of 1556 went to Geneva with his wife and his wife's mother. He left behind him an organised body of Scottish Church Reformers, and he gave to them for the encouragement and support of their faith a pastoral letter —"John Knox to his Brethren in Scotland." Knox at Geneva.

During the next year or two Knox was quietly at home in Geneva, with Calvin for a friend. Calvin's spiritual rule in Geneva made John Knox speak of the place as "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places," he said, "I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place beside." In April, 1557, two friends from Edinburgh brought to John Knox at Geneva letters from the Earl of Glencairn and from Lords Lorne, Erskine, and James Stewart, inviting him, in the name of the brethren, to return to Scotland and aid them in maintaining and advancing the Reformation there. Calvin advised him that he could not refuse the call. He obeyed it; resigned his pastoral care at Geneva, and in October was at Dieppe upon his way to Scotland, when he was met by letters, telling him that the greater number of the Scottish Reformers were become faint-hearted, and seemed to have repented of their invitation. He then sent off the most earnest exhortations that his letters could convey, and awaited in France the answers to them, preaching at Dieppe for a time as colleague to the pastor of the newly-

formed Protestant congregation there. The expected answers from Scotland did not come. He himself felt that his appearance there would at that time stir up tumult and lead to bloodshed, and he asked himself—"What comfort canst thou have to see the one half of the people rise up against the other, yea, to jeopard the one to murder and destroy the other?" Knox wrote from Dieppe on the first of December, 1557, a letter to the Scottish Protestants in general, and on the seventeenth another to the Scottish Protestant nobility, and in the beginning of the year 1558 he returned to Geneva. There he was among the persons engaged in preparing that English version of the Bible produced in Geneva at the expense of John Bodley, and known afterwards as the Geneva Bible, and he published his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment" [Rule] "of Women."

He meant, he said, that the trumpet should be blown three times, and at the third time he would declare his name, which was not upon the title-page of the "First Blast," though manifest in every page. There was no doubt as to the authorship. Knox saw the part of Christendom he cared for subject to three Marys, who maintained the cause of Rome in their religion—Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland; Mary Queen of Scots; and Mary Queen of England. This led him to argue that "to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." Then Mary of England died, Elizabeth came to the throne, and she too was a woman.

Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet."

CHAPTER VI.

OF TROUBLES ABROAD, AND OF ENGLISH REFORMERS AND SCHOLARS, WITH OTHER WRITERS, BEING THE END OF THE NARRATIVE FROM THE YEAR 1540 TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ON New Year's Day, 1540, when Francis I. and Charles V. rode into Paris together, the Emperor was on his way through France to punish Ghent. The Netherlands passed in 1477 to Austria, by marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Archduke Maximilian. Charles V. was born of marriage between Archduke Philip, heir by right of his mother to the Netherlands, and Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was, after the death of intervening persons, heir to the monarchies of Spain. Thus Charles acquired by inheritance both Spain, which was essentially Catholic, and the Netherlands, with a population kindred to our own.

Spain and the Netherlands.

The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands differed in character and constitution, but they all sent deputies to a States-General, which had no power of taxation and acknowledged appeals to a Supreme Tribunal at Mechlin. Four of these provinces were duchies—Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland; seven were counties—Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Artois, Hainault, Namur, and Zutphen; five were seigniories—Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen; and the seventeenth—Antwerp—was a margravate. Charles was himself born and bred in Flanders; he talked Flemish and favoured Flemings.

The Netherlanders, therefore, liked him, though their temper was republican, and his was a despotic rule. He taxed them heavily because they were more prosperous than their neighbours. It was revolt in Ghent against an excessive tax that Charles went to put down in 1540. He did put it down with a strong hand, compelling the chief citizens to kneel before him in their shirts, with halters round their necks.

The spirit of the Reformation spread also among these people of the Netherlands, and Charles V. battled in vain against it. He sought to bring into Flanders the Inquisition, which had been re-instituted in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1480; but the people rose and expelled the Inquisitor-General, who had been sent to them by the Pope. A modified Inquisition was established, with provision, made in 1546, that no sentence of an Inquisitor should be carried out until it had the sanction of a member of the Provincial Council. Thus, in the Netherlands, many died for their faith, while the English Reformers were during the reign of Edward VI. gathering strength and provoking conflict by excess of zeal.

It was in 1546 that Luther died, a few months earlier than his antagonist King Henry VIII., and Calvin then became the ruling spirit of the storm. Jean Cauvin, or John Calvin, was born at Noyon in 1509. At the age of twenty-three, after a liberal education at Paris, Orleans, and Bourges, he had completely adopted such reformed opinions as prevented him from entering the ministry within the Church of Rome, for which he was to have been trained. He found a friend in Margaret of Navarre, and while still young produced in Latin, at Basel, a first outline, developed afterwards more fully, of the principles of his faith, and of the faith of many whom his genius made afterwards his followers, "The Institutes of the Christian Religion." It was in 1536, when

John Calvin.

twenty-seven years old, that Calvin first settled at Geneva, but all his reforms had not acceptance then, and in 1538 he was compelled to leave. In 1541 he was recalled, and then established at Geneva that "yoke of Christ" by which he sought to enforce Christian life, as well as Christian doctrine. The unreformed Church had its ecclesiastical courts, which took cognisance of offences against minor morals, and their summoners made them occasion of much petty oppression and cruelty. Calvin also was following traditional customs when he sought unity of faith by burning the learned Spaniard, Michael Servetus, in October, 1553, for blasphemy and heresy, because he was a Christian who could not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. Calvin died in 1564, leaving his character strongly impressed on the Reformed Church of England, and yet more strongly, through John Knox, on the Reformed Church of Scotland. In Elizabeth's reign, Calvin's interpretation of the doctrines of the Christian faith was that commonly accepted by the English clergy. In 1561, while Calvin was still living, his body of Church Doctrine, the *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, was published in a translation by Thomas Norton, who was about the same time joint author with Thomas Sackville of "Gorboduc," the first English tragedy. "The Institution of Christian Religion, written in Latine by M. John Calvine, translated into English according to the author's last edition," by Thomas Norton, appeared as a solid folio in 1561; a new edition of it was required in 1562, and other editions in 1572, 1574, 1580, and 1582. Calvin's "Institutes," in its first edition, was a short book, but it grew with his life. Every point of doctrine newly treated by him, in sermons or otherwise, had its treatment presently incorporated with the "Institutes," so that the whole body of Calvin's religious opinions had come at last to be therein contained.

The battle for reform in Scotland has sounded again for us in the record of Calvin's friend and companion, John

Knox, to the year of the accession of Elizabeth. For England, also, we have now to complete, so far, the story of the forward struggle of a nation speaking through the lives of men whose strength was in fidelity of each, whatever his opinions, to his highest sense of right.

Hugh Latimer.

We parted from Hugh Latimer* in the year 1539, when he resigned his Bishopric of Worcester because he could not conform to Henry VIII's. Act of the Six Articles. That Act required all men, under severe penalties, to adopt the king's opinions—which were those of the Church of Rome—upon six questions then in dispute: transubstantiation, the confessional, vows of chastity, private masses, denial of the cup to the people at communion, and celibacy of priests. Hugh Latimer, who could not retain his bishopric by a compliance with this act, resigned, and was silenced for the rest of Henry's reign. When the king died, Latimer was still a prisoner in the Tower, and in danger of his life

Then came, at the end of January, 1547, Edward VI. to the throne. He was but ten years old, and was to come of age at eighteen. During those eight years—which he did not live to complete, for he died in his sixteenth year—Cranmer was among the sixteen executors to whom regal power was entrusted, and the king's maternal uncle, the Earl of Hertford, created Duke of Somerset—hitherto a secret friend, and now an open friend of the Reformers—became Lord Protector.

There was thus a sudden change of the force of authority in the direction to which the Reformers pointed. Latimer, released from the Tower, preached at Paul's Cross on the first of January, 1548. The Parliament proposed to reinstate him in his bishopric, but he preferred to remain free, and speak his heart on all that concerned the religious life of England and of Englishmen, with his own homely direct-

* "E. W." vii. 321.

ness that went straight to its mark. In January, 1549 [1548 old style], he preached in the Shrouds, the covered places by the side of old St. Paul's, his sermon on "The Ploughers," by which he meant the clergy bound to labour in the field of God.* Latimer was a Lent preacher before the king in 1548 and 1549, preaching from a pulpit built in the king's private garden at Westminster, with many statesmen, courtiers, and people gathered about him. The king listened at an open window near the preacher, and the future Queen Elizabeth, then fifteen or sixteen years old, was among his hearers. In March and April, 1549, Latimer preached in this way, on the Fridays in Lent, his "Seven Sermons before King Edward." Two were on the duty of a king, two on the lawfulness of kings, one on the unjust judge, and one on the agony in the garden. The seventh and last of the sermons so preached, Latimer called his *ultimum vale* to the Court. It was more than three hours long, vigorous, discursive, and rich in illustration of the directness of speech that made his preaching effectual, and at the same time laid it open, in its own day, to much critical exception from his adversaries.†

Latimer seems to have been in Lincolnshire during the rest of the reign of Edward VI., and there, in the autumn of 1552, at Grimsthorpe Castle, before the Duchess of Suffolk, he preached his "Seven Sermons on the Lord's Prayer," which, with another series of twenty-one "Sermons preached in Lincolnshire," have been preserved by the good offices of Augustine Bernher, a Belgian, who had lived with Latimer

* A notable sermon of Maister Hugh Latimer, which he preached in the Shroudes at Paul's Churche in London on the 18 Daye of January, 1548." Lond. by John Daye and William Seres.

† "The fyrst sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kynges Majest. wythin his Grace Palacye at Westmynster, M.D. xlix, the viii. of Marche." Lond. by John Day and William Seres. The volume (16mo) contains seven sermons.

as a clerk, had in Mary's reign a congregation in London, and in Elizabeth's reign was presented to a rectory. Bernher, in Mary's reign, helped the reformers. John Jewel owed to him his escape. He was careful for the families of the reformers who suffered death; one of them, Robert Glover, before he was burnt, wrote to his wife, "As Christ committed his mother to John, so I commit you in this world to the angel of God, Augustine Bernher." This collection of Latimer's sermons was published by Bernher in 1562, with a dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk.

Latimer's preaching was essentially English; homely, practical, and straight to its purpose. There was no speculative refinement, but a simple sense of duty to be done for love of God. He pointed distinctly to the wrongs he preached against. After three of his Lent sermons before the king, three hundred and seventy-three pounds retained dishonestly were restored to the State by certain of the king's officers. He enlivened his admonition with shrewd sayings, recollections of life, genial humour. In many respects Latimer personified the spiritual life of the work-a-day Englishman. In his fifth sermon on the Lord's Prayer, when he was arguing that the true religious houses had not been pulled down, he said, "I read once a story of a holy man, some say it was St. Anthony, which had been a long season in the wilderness, eating nor drinking nothing but bread and water; at the length, he thought himself so holy that there should be nobody like unto him. Therefore, he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to Alexandria, there he should find a cobbler which should be his fellow in heaven. So he went thither and sought him out, and fell acquainted with him, and tarried with him three or four days to see his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together, then they went to their business—he in his shop and she about her housewifery.

At dinner-time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their Paternoster, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you he did not so many false stitches as cobblers do nowadays. St. Anthony, perceiving that, came to the knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption. By this example you may learn that honest conversation and godly living is much regarded before God, insomuch that this poor cobbler, doing his duty diligently, was made St. Anthony's fellow."

In the reign of Queen Mary, soon after her proclamation, Latimer was brought from Lincolnshire, and lodged on the 13th of September in the Tower. On the 14th Cranmer also was sent to the Tower. As Latimer passed through Smithfield he said that the place had long groaned for him. In the following March, 1554, Hugh Latimer, with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, was transferred to a prison at Oxford. There were to be public disputations between those in power and the accused prisoners. Latimer was baited on the 18th of April. Age and infirmity, a mind never practised in scholastic disputation, and the practical fact that the dispute was a form with its end predetermined, caused Latimer to content himself with a declaration that he held fast by his faith. After trial, under a commission issued by Cardinal Pole, Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford, on the 16th of October, 1555. When the lighted fagot was placed at the feet of Ridley, Latimer exclaimed: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out."

In October, 1555, Charles V., aged about fifty-six, abdicated at Brussels in favour of his son, Philip II., then

twenty-eight years old, a small, thin, sullen man, fair-haired and blue-eyed, with a great mouth, a protruding lower jaw, and a digestion spoilt by pastry. He had been married about fifteen months before to Queen Mary of England; and Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger had been executed for rebellious objections to the wedding. Philip received from his living father Spain, with all its outlying dominion, a month after the sovereignty of the Netherlands had been transferred to him. His dignity as head of the Holy Roman Empire Charles resigned in favour of his brother Ferdinand. In September, 1556, Charles sailed for Spain, and he died in his seclusion at Yuste about two months before Anne Boleyn's daughter became Queen of England.

Foreign Affairs.

If Charles had been in some respects a Fleming among the Spaniards, Philip, born and bred in Spain, was a Spaniard among the Flemings. His Court at Brussels was almost wholly Spanish, his advisers were Spanish grandees The chief of them were Philip's pliant favourite, Ruy Gomez, afterwards Prince of Eboli, who usually counselled peace, and the Duke of Alva, counsellor of war. Philip had remained in England with Queen Mary after his marriage to her in July, 1554, until some weeks before his father's abdication. He did not return to England until March, 1557, when, for reasons of his own, as King of Spain, he urged England into war with France. Paul IV. was seeking, by alliance with France, to loosen the hold of Spain upon Italian soil. Philip, therefore, caused England, in June, 1557, to declare war against his enemy of France, and in July, having gained his point, he left England never to return. On the other side Mary of Guise, then Regent of Scotland, was incited by King Henry II. of France to attack England. The Duke of Savoy, with the Spanish army of the Netherlands and English reinforcements, gained in August a great victory over the Constable Montmorenci,

at St. Quentin, and then, through advice of Philip, lost the opportunity of pressing victory by an advance. He stayed for the siege of the town, which was not taken till a fortnight later. The Duke of Guise, coming from Italy, was made Lieutenant-General of France, assembled a French army, and by surprise took Calais and Guines from the English in January, 1558, thus making a happy end of English domination on French soil. On the twenty-fourth of the following April, Guise's niece, Mary Stuart, the Queen of Scots, then about sixteen years old, was married to Francis, the French Dauphin, a youth of her own age; and by a secret article of the marriage contract, Scotland and France were to be united under one sovereign if Mary died childless.

Meanwhile, at home, the general pardon usual at a coronation ended at the coronation of Edward VI. the persecution under the Six Articles. A "Book of Homilies," which had been suggested in the preceding reign to secure uniformity of preaching, was now undertaken by Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues. Twelve Homilies were produced in 1547 and "appointed by the king's majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday, in their churches where they have cure."

The "Book of Homilies."

Five of the twelve sermons in the first Book of Homilies—the second was printed under Elizabeth in 1562, and issued in 1563—are ascribed to Cranmer. Probably he wrote the three sermons that had for their several subjects, "Salvation," "Faith," and "Good Works." Perhaps he wrote also those on "The Fear of Death" and "The Reading of Scripture." The Homilies on "The Passion" and on "The Resurrection" were taken from the "Postills" *

* *Postills*, an old name for sermons, as given *post illa*, after the words of the Gospel.

of Richard Taverner, which were published in 1540, the year after the issue of Taverner's Bible, which was a careful revision of Matthew's Bible, made at the request of Thomas Cromwell. The Homily on "The Misery of Mankind" was by John Harpesfield. It is given as his in a volume of Homilies published by Bishop Bonner in 1555. The Homily on "Brawling and Contention" was by Latimer, and that against "Adultery" was by Thomas Becon, in whose collected works it had a place.

Thomas Becon was a busy writer in aid of the work of the Church Reformers. He was born in Norfolk, in 1511 or 1512. He proceeded B.A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1530, and finally graduated as D.D. He attached himself strongly to the teachings of Latimer, was ordained in 1538, and presented to the small living of Brenzett, a village near Romney. Under the pseudonym of Theodore Basille, he wrote boldly against use of images in churches, vows of celibacy, and other practices attacked by the Reformers. But in 1541, and again in 1543, he was compelled to recant, and publicly cut in pieces at Paul's Cross his books called "News out of Heaven," "The Potation," "The Policy of War," "The Christmas Banquet," "The Catechism," "David's Harp," "The Invective against Swearing," "The Golden Book of Christian Matrimony," "The Nosegay," "The New Year's Gift," and "The Pathway to Prayer." Then Becon left London, and supported himself in various parts of the country as a teacher of boys. He had an opportunity of renewing his acquaintance with Latimer, and still wrote, his chief book written at this time being "The Governaunce of Vertue, teaching all faythful Christians how they oughte dayly to leade their life and fruitfully to spend their tyme vnto the glory of God and the healthe of theyr owne soules." Becon dedicated this book to Lady Jane Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerset, whom he served

Thomas Becon.

as chaplain. He was chaplain, also, to Cranmer under Edward VI., and in March, 1548, was made Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Under Mary, he was committed to the Tower as a seditious preacher, was released by mistake, and went abroad to live at Strasburg and Marburg. The accession of Elizabeth restored Becon to his City rectory, and made his days easy until his death in 1567.

There was an English visitation, during the Scotch war at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, to ascertain how far in each parish images were removed; pilgrimages, offerings, and superstitious holidays abolished; the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of Faith taught to the young, and the great Bible, in English, made accessible in some convenient part of every church. Some associated the two facts that ten thousand Scots fell at Pinkie, and that there was a great destruction of images in London upon the same day. Cranmer had chosen Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament for translation. It had been for some time in hand, and was now to form two folio volumes produced at the public expense, and set up in churches for an aid in the instruction of the people. Upon this work we left Nicholas Udall busy. The first volume, containing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, appeared in January, 1548. Udall, who had translated the Paraphrase of St. Luke's Gospel, placed the texts throughout that Gospel and the others (except Mark), to show how they corresponded with the Paraphrase. He wrote also an Introduction to the Gospels, in three letters, one to King Edward, one to the Reader, and one to Queen Catherine Parr. The other volume appeared in August, 1549, with a preface by Miles Coverdale and John Olde. Coverdale was now Almoner to Queen Catherine, and in 1551 was made Bishop of Exeter.

Erasmus's Paraphrase: Nicholas Udall.

The first measure of the Parliament of 1549 was an

Act for Uniformity of Service, which established the use of an English Book of Common Prayer (known as "The First Service Book") in English churches. Richard Grafton was one of its two authorised printers, and the issue began in March, 1549, it being ordained that the book should come into use "at the Feast of Pentecost next coming," which was on the ninth of June, 1549.

King Edward's Service Books.

This First Service Book was based on the Liturgies of the ancient churches. Its omissions satisfied Reformers, and what was left agreed so far with the old forms as to overcome many objections to its use. It put away whatever interfered with the reading of the Book of Psalms straight through during every month, and of the Old Testament as lessons in the Church Service once through, and the New Testament three times through, every year. From the Old Testament there were omissions of parts not tending to edification, and from the New Testament there was no reading of the Book of Revelation, beyond a few selected passages. The great feature of the new service was that it was throughout in English. The reading of Scripture and the prayers were designed to impress them upon the hearts and understandings of the people. The appointed order of Morning and Evening Service differed little from that now used in the Church of England, from the first reading of the Lord's Prayer, with which the Service opened, to the end. The purpose of the second reading of the Lord's Prayer, after the Creed, was by the more frequent use especially to fix it, in their own speech, on the people's memory.

The formation of the Second Service Book of Edward VI. was begun in the autumn of 1550. At the meetings of Convocation and Parliament in 1550 many questions of change in usage had been raised. The Second Service Book was designed to settle them, and to shut out more

explicitly rejected doctrines of the Church of Rome. Repudiation of the claim of a priest's right of absolution, and the public substitution for it of a power to declare God's pardon "to all them which truly repent," was put in the fore-front of the Morning and Evening Services, to which there were now prefixed the sentences of Scripture, the invitation of the minister to the people to join him in confession and repentance, the general confession, and the absolution, which to this day precede the old beginning of the service. This, of course, was not taken from any ancient service book, but was based upon the opening of a service drawn up by the Calvinist Pullain for the French refugees at Glastonbury.

Other modifications were of like tendency. Kneeling at Sacrament might be taken to suggest an adoration of the Host. The Second Service Book adds, therefore, to the Order of Communion a note explaining that no adoration is intended by the act of kneeling, while in the same spirit various changes are made also in the wording of the Communion Service. Another change not to be overlooked is the insertion of this new direction at the beginning of the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer: "And here it is to be noted that the minister at the tyme of the Communion and all other tymes in his ministracion, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a preest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

The reading of the Ten Commandments was placed in the Communion, and there were other occasional changes, such as that in the Burial Service, of prayers for the dead into thanksgivings.*

On Whit-Sunday, 1549, the Act for Uniformity of

* Reprints of the First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward VI. may be had, for half a crown each, in "The Westminster Library," 1891. London: Griffith, Farran & Co.

Service came into operation. In Cornwall and in Devonshire the people forcibly opposed the disuse of the old method of religious service, which had become associated with their daily sense of God. Exeter itself was besieged. There was armed insurrection, cruelly suppressed. In Norfolk, rebellion began in July, and under Robert Kett, tanner, of Wymondham, there was war against the system of enclosures that oppressed the poor. Sir Thomas More had dwelt on this evil in his "Utopia"; Simon Fyshe had touched upon it in his "Supplication for the Beggars"—men made beggars by the religious Orders. A supplication to Parliament in Henry VIII.'s time showed that in Oxfordshire there were fewer ploughs by forty than there had been. A plough kept six persons, and where those forty ploughs had fed two hundred and forty persons there were only sheep. The disuse of tillage and the throwing together of fields into large pasturages was to a small class a source of wealth, obtained by the service of a few shepherds, instead of many ploughmen and field-labourers. Old farm-servants were turned out, and their homes were levelled. It was said that in each of fifty thousand towns, villages, and hamlets there was an average loss of one plough since the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. That, it was argued, meant three hundred thousand broken men, some driven to beg, others to steal and die upon the gallows. When the religious houses had joined lands together, and helped to create the suffering, they yet, by their systematic almsgiving, and by serving as hospitals, chance lodgings, and asylums for the sick and destitute, allayed the pain of wounds that were in part of their own making. The breaking up of such houses destroyed their charitable organisation, and though laws were made to require employment of field labour, these were evaded, and the people suffered on without assuagement of their griefs. This was what caused the poor people of Norfolk to feel

The Act of Uniformity.

that they were being devoured by the rich; to pull down the enclosures to which they attributed their misery, gather themselves into camp on Mousehold Heath and Mount Surrey—to the destruction of the Earl of Surrey's stately buildings—there holding rude council under an oak, which they called "The Tree of Reformation." Their hopeless protest ended in disaster on the twenty-seventh of August.

Upon the claim of the Devonshire men for restoration of the Mass, of the abbey lands, and of the law of the Six Articles, Nicholas Udall published, in 1549, "An Answer to the Articles of the Commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall, declaring to the same howe they have been seduced by evell persons, and howe their consciences may be satysfyed and stayed concerning the sayd artycles, sette forth by a countryman of theirs, much tendering the wealth bothe of their bodyes and solles." Udall at this time preached actively. He translated in 1551 Peter Martyr's tract on the Eucharist, and in the same year was admitted to a prebend of Windsor. He published Latin letters and poems; edited also a folio of T. Geminie's "Anatomy," still preaching constantly; and in March, 1553, was made rector of Calbourne, in the Isle of Wight.

Nicholas Udall.

Nicholas Udall also retained Mary's good-will. He had spoken highly of her in a special Prologue to her part of the translation from Erasmus's New Testament Paraphrase, and he was employed, by her warrant, in directing a dramatic entertainment for the feast of her coronation; also in preparing dialogues and interludes to be performed before her. In 1554 or 1555, Udall was made head master of the school settled at Westminster by Henry VIII. in 1540. In November, 1556, Mary re-established the monastery, and there was an end of Udall's office, but a month later there was an end also of his life.

On all sides are now to be heard the war-cries of the

English battle of opinion. John Foxe, who in later years compiled a painful record of the persecutions for religion in his time, was born in 1516, at Boston, in Lincolnshire. His father died when he was very young, and his mother married again, a Richard Melton. They were of small means; but two friends—one of them a Fellow of Brasenose—seeing the boy's habit of study, enabled him to go to Oxford. There he was educated at Brasenose College, and became Fellow of Magdalen in July, 1539, two years after he had taken his B.A. degree. He wrote Latin plays on Scriptural subjects before he devoted himself wholly to the great religious controversies of his day. Then he studied Hebrew, read the Greek and Latin fathers, graduated as M.A. in 1543, was accused in 1545 of heresy, and, together with five others, resigned his fellowship, because he objected to the enforcement of celibacy, and would not comply with the requirement to take holy orders within seven years of election to a fellowship. He next lived with Sir William Lucy, of Charlcote, near Stratford-on-Avon, as tutor to his son Thomas. On the third of February, 1547, Foxe married Agnes Randall, daughter of one of the friends who had sent him to Oxford. Then he came to London, and after the execution of the Earl of Surrey, John Foxe was employed as tutor to his children—Thomas, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, Henry, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and three girls. Foxe received that appointment from Surrey's sister, the Duchess of Richmond, who had not been in good accord with her brother, and who differed from him in favouring the reformed opinions. John Bale was among her friends, and joined her in using influence on Foxe's behalf with Lord Wentworth, who was the children's guardian. Foxe was five years with the children at the castle of Reigate, which belonged to the old Duke of Norfolk, then in prison. During this time he wrote his first theological tracts, also a school-book, "Tables

John Foxe.

of Grammar," printed in 1552. At the beginning of Mary's reign the old Duke of Norfolk was released. He at once dismissed Foxe from Reigate Castle, where he had preached as well as taught, having been ordained deacon by Ridley in June, 1550. The Duke of Norfolk not only dismissed Foxe, but sought to neutralise his influence over his eldest grandchild, Thomas, by placing the lad under the care of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. As dangers grew, and the Reformers were escaping, Foxe also made his way to Strasburg, where a printer, Wendelin Richelius, produced for the Strasburg fair, in an octavo of 212 leaves, the first part of a Latin treatise Foxe had written on the persecutions of Reformers since the time of Wyclif. It was the first essay towards his Martyrology.* Later in that year, 1554, Foxe was at Frankfort, where there was high dispute among the English Reformers as to the adoption of Anglican or Genevan forms of prayer. Knox, who had been invited to Frankfort, suggested Calvin as an arbitrator. Foxe joined Knox in advocacy of the Genevan forms. In November, Foxe removed to Basel, where he lived in poverty with his wife and two children as corrector of the press for the Protestant printer, Johann Herbst (Oporinus), who was his good friend, and who published in 1556 a Latin mystery play of John Foxe's, *Christus Triumphans*. Here Foxe resolved to go on with his record of the persecutions for religious faith.

We need not dwell long on the reaction against Church Reformers in the reign of Mary. The best thought of the country was not with it, and it gave nothing to English literature but the quicker spirit of antagonism that embittered controversy in succeeding years. In January, 1554, Sir Thomas Carew failed in a demonstration against Queen

* "Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum maximarumque persecutionum a Vuiclevi temporibus descriptio, liber primus." Argentorati, V. Richelius, 1554.

Mary's union with Philip of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V. Before the end of the month, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, son of the poet, headed insurrection against the proposed marriage, marched to London, and there yielded himself prisoner on the seventh of February. He was executed on the eleventh of April. Mary was married to Philip of Spain on the twenty-fifth of June. In 1555 seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three; in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty.

English scholarship was best represented in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign by Roger Ascham, with whom we shall presently pass to later times; and by John Cheke. John Cheke and Thomas Smith, neither of them knighted before Henry's death. They were born in the same year, 1514; Cheke at Cambridge, Smith at Saffron Walden, in Essex. Both studied at Cambridge, Cheke at St. John's College, and Smith at Queen's; both became famous at the university as students—and, while still young men, teachers—of Greek. They worked together as reformers of the method of pronunciation, and excited a warm controversy on the subject. Greek, as received into England from the teaching of the learned refugees, was pronounced after their fashion: β was pronounced like our *v*, ε and αι were pronounced alike, and ε, ι, υ had the same sound. Cheke and Smith declared this to be a modern Greek corruption of the ancient language, and proposed to give each letter value. They began by partial use of their new system of pronunciation in the course of lectures. When this had provoked question, each appointed a day for the explanation of his views, and both won followers. Students of Cambridge then acted the "Plutus" of Aristophanes pronounced in the new manner, and six years later, when Dr. Ratcliff tried the old way, he was hissed. He appealed to the Chancellor of the University. This was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who addressed to

Cheke an admonition that conceded high respect to him as a scholar, but condemned the youthful fervour with which he was spreading among students heresy against the established form of Greek pronunciation. Gardiner then exercised his authority as Chancellor by issuing, in 1542, an edict settling the true faith in Greek vowels and diphthongs as absolutely as King Henry VIII. settled it for his subjects in all other matters. Cheke held his own, and replied with a treatise, *De Pronuntiatione Linguæ Græcæ*, which was published afterwards in 1555. Smith wrote also a sensible letter on the subject, and the Chancellor's decrees were not obeyed.

At the age of two-and-twenty, Cheke had published an English tract, called "A Remedy for Sedition, wherein are contained many things concerning the true and loyal obeisance that Commons owe unto their Prince and Sovereign Lord the King." In later days his loyalty and his fame as a scholar caused him to be appointed tutor to Prince Edward. He assisted for three years in Edward's education. John Cheke was a great scholar himself and a cause of scholarship in other men, who earned reputation and looked back to him with gratitude. He was knighted by King Edward and had grants of land. He became also in this reign a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State. Sir John Cheke drew force for the real work of life out of his studies. He was especially familiar with Demosthenes, and said that the study of him taught Englishmen how to speak their minds.

Thomas Smith, who had been travelling among the universities of France and Italy towards the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, and took the doctor's degree at Padua, was, after the accession of Edward VI., made Provost of Eton; in 1548 he was knighted. Sir Thomas Smith became, like his friend Sir John Cheke, a Secretary of State under Edward, and he was employed as

Thomas Smith.

an ambassador. Under Mary he was deprived of all his offices, but had for his learning a pension of £100.

John Cheke.

Sir John Cheke, at the death of Edward VI., was one of those who, like Cranmer, sought to secure the succession of Lady Jane Grey. He was sent to the Tower, but for his learning his life was spared, and he was permitted to leave England. While abroad his estates were confiscated. He was seized by Philip at Brussels and sent back to England, where he escaped death by recantation. The queen then gave him means of life, but made life a torture by compelling him to sit on the Bench at the judgment and condemnation of those heretics who did not faint in the trial of their faith. His age was but forty-three when he died in September, 1557.

Thomas Cranmer.

In vain we seek to escape from the cries of conflict in the battle for authority within the Church. We parted from Thomas Cranmer,* after the issue, in 1540, of "The Great Bible," which came to bear his name, and which was then set up in churches. In that year also he presided over a Commission that began to consider doctrines and ceremonies of the Church, and that led to the publication, by authority, in 1543, of a book setting forth "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man." This replaced the book of doctrines sanctioned by Convocation, and issued in 1537 as "The Institution of a Christian Man," which was commonly known as "The Bishop's Book." Cranmer maintained the good-will of Henry VIII. by being supple to his hand, while leading him, as far as he was able, in his own direction. Cranmer's secretary, Ralph Morice, said afterwards for him that "men ought to consider with whom he had to do, specially with such a prince as would not be bridled, nor be against said in any of his requests." After the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer complied with his last wishes by

* "E. W." vii. 320.

saying mass for him; and as Archbishop of Canterbury under Edward VI. he sought to restrain what he regarded as excess of zeal in the Reformers. But he was head of the commissions that deprived Bishop Bonner in 1549 and Bishop Gardiner in 1551. Cranmer was friendly to the learned Protestants abroad, and he sought help for them in their difficult task. It was he who invited to England, in 1549, the moderate Lutheran, Martin Bucer, then fifty-eight years old, that he might spread his great learning, and maintain the peace he sought, as teacher of theology at Cambridge. There Bucer died, in February, 1551. He was buried in St. Mary's, but in the reign of Queen Mary his body was dug up and burned. Before King Edward's death Cranmer's forty-two articles of religion, afterwards reduced to thirty-nine, were published by his Majesty's command.

After the king's death hostile inquiries were soon set on foot, and Cranmer was committed to the Tower for treasonable support of Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne. He was condemned to death. His life was spared, but his office of Archbishop forfeited. Then he was removed from the Tower, and taken, with Ridley and Latimer, to Oxford, where they remained prisoners for a year and a half before the condemnation and burning of Ridley and Latimer. This was followed, five months afterwards, by Cranmer's own condemnation and martyrdom, on the twenty-first of March, 1556.

The burning of Reformers in Smithfield had begun a year before, on the fourth of February, 1555, with John Rogers, who had joined his labours to those of Tyndal and Coverdale in producing the translation known as Matthew's Bible.* John Rogers.

Four days after the burning of Rogers at Smithfield, Lawrence Saunders was burnt at Coventry. He had been

* "E. W." vii. 319.

educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, then apprenticed to Sir William Chester, a merchant, who, finding Saunders bent upon the service of the Church, sent him again to Cambridge. He was ordained in the beginning of King Edward's reign. At the end of the reign he had a living at Church Langton, in Leicestershire, and had just been appointed to All Hallows, Bread Street. Upon Mary's accession he held both places, because if he resigned his country pulpit he would be passing it, he said, to a Papist.

Lawrence Saunders.

Gentle, fervent, brave John Bradford, of whom there remain two sermons—one on Repentance, one on the Lord's Supper—also Godly Meditations, religious Treatises, and letters, was burnt on the first of July, 1555, with a great surrounding of armed men because of the love the people had for him. He was then about forty-five years old. He had been born in Manchester, and educated at the grammar school there. After service under Sir John Harrington, of Exton, in Rutlandshire, John Bradford studied law in the Inner Temple, then turned from law to divinity, entered St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and was made Master of Arts, by special grace, in October, 1549. Soon afterwards he was elected to a fellowship in Pembroke Hall. In August, 1550, he was ordained deacon by Ridley, who not only licensed Bradford to preach, but also made him one of his own chaplains. Soon afterwards, as one of King Edward's six chaplains, of whom two attended on the king, while four preached as missionaries of reform throughout the country, Bradford preached in Lancashire and Cheshire as well as in London and elsewhere. Early in Mary's reign, Bradford helped to save from the violence of the people a preacher against Edward VI.'s work of reformation, and on the same afternoon, from the pulpit of Bow Church, Cheapside, he reasoned with the people against violence. Three days

John Bradford.

afterwards he was in the Tower, to be freed only through fire.

Five days after the burning of John Rogers in Smithfield, John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, was burnt at Gloucester. He was of a Somersetshire family with good means, graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1519, became a Cistercian at Gloucester, went to London after the dissolution of the monasteries, and was about the Court; but, influenced by the writings of Reformers on the Continent, he went back to Oxford, and soon brought himself into danger of imprisonment for heresy. Then Hooper became steward in the household of Sir Thomas Arundel; but, as he was still beset by dangers, he at last left England, in disguise as captain of a ship. In good time he found his way to Basel, where he married a lady of Antwerp, and was in very intimate relation with leading Reformers. In May, 1549, Hooper came back to England, and was made chaplain to the Protector Somerset. He preached on controversial topics twice a day in one or other of the London churches, and preached, in 1550, the Lent lectures before King Edward, taking the prophet Jonas for his subject, and inveighing against clerical robes and vestments. In all he did there was the fervour of Geneva. On the third of July, 1550, John Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester, but he found Popery in the wording of the oath he was required to take. When that was altered for him, he found Popery in the vestments he would have to wear. Cranmer was then empowered by the king and six of the council to consecrate Hooper without use of the episcopal dress. To this Cranmer demurred. Soon afterwards Hooper was imprisoned in the Fleet, by way of forcing him into submission. Finally he agreed to wear the bishop's dress at consecration, and was allowed to satisfy the law afterwards by wearing it only now and then. He then went to his see, and became a bishop after the heart of the Zürich Reformers,

John Hooper.

preaching three or four times a day, examining into the soundness of the faith and knowledge of his clergy, appointing ministers called superintendents in the place of archdeacons and rural deans, and being always full of goodness to the poor. In 1552 the see of Worcester was placed under his care. Gloucester was soon afterwards made an archdeaconry, and the revenues of that see were transferred to the Crown.

Upon the accession of Mary, before the action against heresy began, Bishop Hooper was arrested and sent to the Fleet, on plea of a debt owing to the queen. His wife escaped with her two children to Frankfort. Hooper was never again free until he was burnt at Gloucester, on the ninth of February, 1555. When levelling the ground in St. Mary de Lode's Square in Gloucester, some years ago, the workmen found the butt end of the stake at which Hooper was burnt. Over that spot his monument has been erected.

John Careless was a weaver of Coventry who preached among Reformers as a layman. He was imprisoned for two years, first at Coventry, then in the King's Bench, where he died on the first of July, 1556. His body was thrown out into the fields, and buried, with many others, in a dunghill. Miles Coverdale published his letters, which include a touching farewell to his wife and his two little girls, in the quiet spirit of reliance upon God and of the prayer that His will be done. In his prison at Coventry there was so much faith in the word of John Careless, that he was trusted to go out alone and see the Miracle Plays. To the acting of the Miracle Plays there was a fresh impulse given in the reign of Mary.

John Careless.

The persecutions and the martyrdoms were not all on one side. Cranmer himself assented to the burning of Joan Bocher for heretical opinions as to the nature of Christ, and to the burning of a Dutch Arian two years later.

Stephen Gardiner, under Edward VI., opposed himself to all the zeal of the Reformers, and though yielding general obedience to the new authority, he would not speak a word in acceptance of its claim to rule the Church, nor would he comply with the demand that he should put away his faith in the Real Presence. Stephen Gardiner.

When Mary became queen, Gardiner was in the Tower, which he left to become Lord High Chancellor, and to be restored to the Chancellorship of Cambridge University. He and Bonner then endeavoured conscientiously to carry out the policy of Thorough in suppression of what they looked upon as heresies that led not only to the ruin of souls, but would bring on the ruin of the kingdom. Stephen Gardiner died of gout, on the twelfth of November, 1555.

Edmund Bonner was deprived of his Bishopric of London in King Edward's reign, and committed to the Marshalsea. When Mary became queen he was restored to his bishopric. He published a new set of Homilies, and a new Book of Profitable Doctrine. Soon after Elizabeth's accession, he was one of the bishops who were deprived for refusal to take the oath of supremacy which made the queen head of the Church. He was committed to the Marshalsea, and as he remained firm to his old allegiance to the Church of Rome, he was left to die in the Marshalsea. He died on the fifth of September, 1569, and was buried at midnight in the churchyard of St. George's, Southwark. Edmund Bonner.

We now pass from the days of Henry VIII., Edward, and Mary, into the days of Queen Elizabeth, with Roger Ascham, who was born, about the year 1515, at Kirkby Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire. His father, house steward in the family of Lord Scrope, had two daughters and three sons. Young Roger Ascham was educated by Sir Humphrey Wingfield, of whom he said Roger Ascham.

afterwards, "This worshipful man hath ever loved, and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house, amonges whom I myself was one, for whom at term times he would bring down from London both bow and shafts. And when they should play he would go with them himself into the field, see them shoot, and he that shot fairest should have the best bow and shafts, and he that shot ill-favouredly should be mocked of his fellows till he shot better. Would to God all England had used or would use to lay the foundation of youth after the example of this worshipful man in bringing up children in the book and the bow, by which two things the whole commonwealth, both in peace and war, is chiefly valid and defended withal." Sir Humphrey was enforcing the spirit of the law that required all boys between seven and seventeen to be provided with a long-bow and two arrows; every Englishman older than seventeen was to provide himself with a bow and four arrows, and every bowyer to make at least two cheap bows for every dear one. At fifteen Roger Ascham became a student at St. John's College, Cambridge. He took his B.A. in 1534, obtained a fellowship in his college, and in 1537 became a college lecturer on Greek. He was at home for a couple of years after 1540, during which time he obtained a pension of forty shillings from the Archbishop of York. It ceased at the archbishop's death, in 1544. In that year, 1544, Ascham wrote "Toxophilus," and lost his parents, who both died on the same day. In 1545, being then twenty-nine years old, he presented "Toxophilus" to the king at Greenwich, and was rewarded with a pension of ten pounds.

"Toxophilus" was a scholar's book, designed to encourage among all gentlemen and yeomen of England the practice of archery for defence of the realm. The treatise was divided into two books of dialogue between Philologus and Toxophilus, the first book containing general

argument to commend shooting, the second a particular description of the art of shooting with the long-bow. Ascham argued for it as a worthy recreation—one very fit for scholars—that in peace excludes ignoble pastimes, and in war gives to a nation strength. Men should seek, he said, to excel in it, and make it a study. Then he proceeded in the second part of his work to treat it as a study. The book was published in 1545, with a dedication to Henry VIII., and a preface, in which Ascham justified his use of English. To have written in another tongue would, he said, have better advanced his studies and his credit; but he wished to be read by the gentlemen and yeomen of England. He could not surpass what others had done in Greek and Latin; while English had usually been written by ignorant men so meanly, both for the matter and handling, that no man could do worse. Ascham was, in his preface to "Toxophilus," the first to suggest that English prose might be written with the same scholarly care that would be required for choice and ordering of words if one wrote Latin. "He that will write well in any tongue," said Ascham, "must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I communed with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying, 'Who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at a dinner both wine, ale, and beer?' 'Truly,' quod I, 'they be all good, every one taken by himself alone, but if you put malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink neither easy to be known nor yet wholesome for the body.'" The manly simplicity of Ascham's own English is in good accord with his right doctrine. His

Latin was so well esteemed that in the year after the appearance of "Toxophilus" he succeeded Cheke as Public Orator, and wrote the official letters of the university.

Ascham was famous also for his penmanship, and taught writing to Prince Edward VI., under whom, when he became king, Ascham had his pension confirmed and augmented. In 1548 he became tutor to Princess Elizabeth, at Cheston, but he was annoyed by her steward, and had therefore returned to the university when, in 1550, he was, through Cheke's good offices, appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morison, then going as ambassador to Charles V. He reached Augsburg in October, was away more than a year, and published in 1553 a "Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the Affairs and State of Germany and the Emperor Charles his Court, during certain years while the said Roger was there." Ascham, although an avowed Protestant, escaped persecution in the reign of Mary. His pension was renewed and, in May, 1554, he was appointed Latin secretary to the queen, with a salary of forty marks. In that year also he gave up his fellowship and married Margaret Howe.

Queen Mary died in the dawn before sunrise on the seventeenth of November, 1558.

By Queen Elizabeth Roger Ascham, who had been one of her teachers in Greek, was still continued in his pension. He was retained also in his post of Latin secretary.

Retrospect.

Thus far, we have passed through the company of English Writers who, during seven centuries and more, have climbed towards the light. The amusers perish, but the helpers live; and happiest are they who both delight and teach.

In remains of the old Celtic poetry, in the great legend of Beowulf, and the fragment of song on the Fight at Finnesburg, over which sweep—as they will sweep for ever with incessant change—the flying mists and clouds of specula-

tion that beset the springs of life among the nations, the First Book of this History endeavoured to set forth the soul of Pagan England.

The Second Book then traced, from the first shaping of verse and the first messengers of Christ, the aspiration of Cædmon; Bede's life spent in the spread of light; long years of toil in Anglo-Saxon times. Whoever wrote then laboured to set forth, for himself and others, in legend, treatise, song, or speculation of philosophy, some truth that might help men to the higher life. The book told how that was done by each, according to the knowledge of the time: how Charlemagne brought from York Alcuin, to give light to the blind eyes about him; how, when the dash of Celtic blood entered the body of the Teuton, speculation was emboldened, and produced the founder of that scholastic philosophy which, when its use was gone, an English Writer afterwards destroyed. That book told also how the Northmen became bold, and their attacks upon our shore destroyed the strength King Alfred laboured to revive, as an English Writer who linked words to deeds. It told how, at last, while pious monks sought to reanimate the spirit of their Church by clinging to its forms, brisk literature of the Northmen showed their fresh exuberance of power.

The Third Book then followed the power of the Normans pouring English thought into new moulds. New light came from the south of Europe. Chroniclers grew busy in our monasteries, telling facts that touched the general well-being, little interested in the fluttering of pennons and the trumpet's blare. In Roger Bacon there was large foreshowing of the strength of Englishmen for valid and productive scientific thought. Out of the chronicling there sprang, as water from the rock, a broadening river of romance. Geoffrey of Monmouth gave King Arthur back to us; but in a few years the gathering crowd of the Arthurian romances moved to the step of one well-chosen Church legend, and

there was put into the midst of the bright tales of fleshly love and war the sacred dish of the Last Supper, the Graal, visible only to the pure in heart. Search for the sight of it became search for nearness to the mysteries of Heaven attainable by those of whom it has been said that "The pure in heart shall see God." From that time until now, the treatment of King Arthur has been, as we shall find, throughout our Literature, a sign of what, in any day when verse is shaped of him, lies deepest in the spiritual life of the English people. The stir of life abroad in the thirteenth century—life that inspired art through fellowship of thought with action, and led up to Dante's Divine Comedy, with its date of action in the year 1300—was shown in its influence upon our English Writers whose procession passed along the Third Book of this History.

The Art of Italy inspired with its best harmonies the genius of Chaucer. Plague, famine, great wrongs to be righted in the Church and in the State, stirred souls of men, and nurtured Chaucer, Gower, Wyclif, Langland—four great writers who gave wide and deep expression to the growing energies of England in the fourteenth century. The Fourth Book of the History, which dealt with that great period, required two volumes. We saw in it how continuous endeavour of preceding time to mend abuses in the Church was lifted by the sense of growing evil to a mighty effort for reform, and that part of the remedy which Wyclif most relied upon was a diffusion of the Bible through the land in language of the people. There was bold question of the Limit of Authority in pope and priest. A combatant and patriot poet, in the alliterative verse and homely speech with which they were familiar, shaped for the ears of common Englishmen—since few could read—a parable of search for Christ through all the troubles of this world. Through it he showed them Love as the great healer of disease. Chaucer alone, like Shakespeare, as the perfect artist, held his thought

above the clouds that have their day and use, with quiet trust in God. But although he joined no conflict, the Master Poet helped more surely to advance the right, by painting without bitterness the evil of the false and with an uncontentious sympathy the beauty of the true.

The Fifth Book told of desolating Civil War in England, with decline of power. It brought us among followers of Wyclif—Lollards, Bible-men—whose voice never died out, and who were, in fact, forerunners of the Puritans. Strengthened by persecution, they spread their influence abroad, where Hus prepared the way for Luther. At home a bishop reasoned with them, and was silenced for bringing Reason to the aid of Faith among a people bound to blind acceptance of the priest's authority. Nevertheless, men reasoned. From the depths of Civil War there rose, at the same time, a great English lawyer who, through all the miseries of England, saw and declared the hidden strength of a free-hearted people, that had secured rights of its own and curbed the absolute authority of kings. In Scotland, the free spirit that resisted armies of invasion rose into nobler music than our civil wars could yield. The fall of Constantinople scattered learned Greeks, and made ready the way for a new birth of Letters. The fifteenth century closed, as we saw, with a leaping forward of the thoughts of men inspired by the discovery of a New World, and with the newly-discovered Art of Printing firmly planted in this country, to give swifter, wider power to the mind.

The Sixth Book of this History, then passing into company of men who brought Greek studies to England, showed how the finer scholarship opposed itself to ignorance and superstition. Whether they held by or opposed the old way of Church government, the true scholars all sought with equal honesty to lift men into leading simpler, purer lives. They shaped, also, ideals of the world as men may learn to make it in far years to come. In that Sixth Book,

which traced the evolution of our strength for good from our first printed books to the first printing of the Book of Books, some were to be found painting ideals of the Commonwealth, the School, who joined the rest in battle against all that pressed down into mire the lives of men. Then came the authorising of a printed Bible in their own tongue, to be freely used in homes and churches of the people.

And so we passed into this Seventh Book, and reach a point whence we glance back over the ground we have been climbing, before we pass into the spacious days of great Elizabeth. We have traced, and shall have yet to trace, the growing influence of a finer scholarship and stronger life on the endeavour of men to give fittest expression to pure thought. We have seen in Surrey and Wyatt, as we shall see again in many more, the poet as the man of action. We shall see, indeed, to the last that, whether he take material part or not in deeds of the life about him, he only is true poet whose life is joined through all his singing with the soul that lives in the best aims and aspirations of his time and country. New forms of literature are now rising, and they are associated everywhere with the battle of opinion which, like the movement of the sap in plants, is a first condition of health, growth, and fruit-bearing.

We find that the example of Italian Courts has strengthened the faith of kings and courtiers in a skilled use of the pen. Henry VIII., among his courtly makers, attacked Luther with a treatise, and wrote songs. When he took to himself the power of the Pope in England, he brought to an abrupt end the first argument in the long Contest about the Limit of Authority. The Pope, as earthly representative of God, had claimed authority as King of kings. In Henry II.'s time the embodiment of that claim was Thomas à Becket. In Henry VIII.'s time resistance against Papal dominion had spread from King to People, and when the King of

England made himself also Pope of England, the most ardent opponents of the Papacy rejoiced in the great gain. The Church question, become altogether a home question, would find its right way to solution by the reasonable course of free inquiry. Meanwhile, therefore, every ardent Reformer joined himself to the natural upholders of royal supremacy, and, through desire to shut out the Pope, exalted the Supremacy of their own King. One battle won, another follows, in the long strife of the mind by which, in every sound state, men

> Seek to subdue the wrong, maintain the right—
> Breed through all time high shapers of mankind,
> Till all be good in the Creator's sight,
> And God's fair Earth be Temple of His Mind.

CHAPTER VII.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH: JOHN KNOX, MATTHEW PARKER, AND OTHER CHURCH REFORMERS.

Accession of Elizabeth.

GREAT energies of thought, quickened and diffused by the spread of the art of printing, had given new impulse to every form of human work during the half-century before Elizabeth was queen. Spread of Greek studies had made Plato an ally of those who were battling against corruptions of Church discipline. Advance of thought added questions of Church doctrine to questions of Church discipline. Debate about the Limit of Authority rose higher as it won new ground. In 1492 Columbus first discovered for Spain the West India Islands. In 1497 Sebastian Cabot first saw the mainland of America. In 1506 Columbus died, and the power of Spain—much used to sustain in Europe the principle of absolute authority in Church and State—was backed by the wealth of a New World. Personal desires of Henry VIII. made a way by which the best thought of England could lead swiftly onward towards the reformation of the Church. The short reign of Edward VI. gathered into one power many of the forces thus developed. Reaction under Mary strengthened and embittered in many earnest minds such resolution as helped England's advance under Elizabeth. Elizabeth came to the throne young, queen of a people beset by strong enemies, and not yet in the first rank among the nations; but in her time her country grew in stature

mightily. As energies of thought, thus quickened, brought England into peril from the power of Spain, new force and freedom came into our Literature. All the great conflicts of the time dealt with essentials of life, about which, however we may differ, it is good for men to care. Occupation upon low care drags life down, but it is lifted to its highest by true care about essentials. A religious sense of duty is the mainspring of the English character. It is a mainspring that has many a flaw of human imperfection in it; but there it is, and we are safe until it breaks. England is strong by labour of many generations—with all inevitable drawbacks in the prejudices, ignorances, and shortcomings of men—to find out the right and do it, for the love of God. As the right sought by a nation in a day of conflict and the peril dared for it is greater, greater also and livelier will be the expression of its human energies, and higher heavenward its reach of thought.

When Mary of England died, on the seventeenth of November, 1558, Elizabeth was twenty-five years old—twenty-five years ten weeks and a day. The Queen of Scots, then within three weeks of sixteen, was held by many in England, and by most in France, to have a more legitimate right to the throne. The new queen took for her chief counsellor Sir William Cecil, then aged thirty-eight, the Lord Burghley of after years, and made Cecil's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon (they married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke), her Lord Keeper. Philip of Spain, her sister's widower, thought it good policy to offer his hand to Elizabeth of England, on condition that she would profess the religion he professed, and would maintain it, and keep her subjects true to it. Elizabeth dead, the English throne would pass to the Queen of Scots,—through her to France. The marriage of Elizabeth, though not to Philip, was therefore desired by her people. Spain was the first Power of the world, and France the second. England had

declined during the reign of Mary. Her active fleet consisted of seven coast-guard vessels and eight small merchant brigs and schooners altered for fighting, besides twenty-one vessels in harbour, of which all but six or seven were sloops and boats. But Spain and France were rival Powers, and for a time Elizabeth could make the jealousies of one serve to protect England from the other. By different ways the same estimate has been reached of a whole population of two millions and a half in all England and Wales in the time of Chaucer,* and Sir William Petty † did not underestimate the population of England and Wales at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when he reckoned it as five millions and a half, and the population of London as seventy-seven thousand. Paris was then the larger city—as populous as London and Dublin taken together. The Liverpool of our own day is seven or eight times more populous than the London of Elizabeth.

John Knox.

John Knox, after his imprisonment in the French galleys, had been in England from 1549 to 1554, and as one of Edward VI.'s chaplains had been associated with men of the English Reformation. He spent two of the five years in Berwick, two in Newcastle, and one in London. He found his first wife at Berwick, and married her before he was driven out of England by the persecutions under Mary. He was then in different places on the Continent, at Dieppe, at Frankfort, until 1555, when, after a short visit to Scotland, he became the pastor of an English congregation at Geneva. There he worked with Calvin, who had become supreme, and made the city what Knox took to be "the most perfect school

* "Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour." By James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P. London, 1884. Pages 120, 121.

† Essays on Mankind and Political Arithmetic in Vol. 142 of "The National Library," page 35.

of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles."

It was from Geneva, just before the accession of Elizabeth, that Knox issued, without his name, his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women." His wrath was against the rule of the three Marys—Mary of Guise, queen-dowager and regent of Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Mary of England—and on behalf of "so many learned and men of grave judgment as this day by Jezebel are exiled." In his preface he said that men had offended "by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent, and help, to establish women in their kingdoms and empires, not understanding how abominable, odious, and detestable is all such usurped authority in the presence of God;" and he ended with this sentence: "My purpose is thrice to blow the trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit: twice I intend to do it without name, but at the last blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged." After such preface he began his book—a small quarto, about as big as a man's hand—with the assertion that "to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrary to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." Women are not worthy to rule. "I exempt," said Knox, "such as God, by singular privilege and for certain causes known only to Himself, hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paint them further to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." He quoted Aristotle's opinion,

"The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women."

"that wheresoever women bear dominion there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperancie, given to pride, excess, and vanity; and finally, in the end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruin." He argued for the subjection of women from Scripture and the Fathers, adding, as he quoted Chrysostom, "Beware, Chrysostom, what thou sayest; thou shalt be reputed a traitor if Englishmen hear thee, for they must have my sovereign lady and maitresse, and Scotland hath drunk also the enchantment and venom of Circes." Instances of exceptional women like Deborah, Knox argued, will no more prove the right of a woman to judge Israel, than the instance of Solomon will prove polygamy a right of man. "Moreover," he said, "I doubt not but Deborah judged what time Israel had declined from God; rebuking their defection and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpation of any civil authority. And if the people gave unto her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet was it no such empire as our monsters claim." "Let all men," he said at the end, "be advertised, for the trumpet hath once blown." Knox blew no other blast, and would have recalled this if he could, although he did state in advance that the argument of his "Second Blast" was well to proclaim how through one woman England had been betrayed to Spain, and Scotland to France through another. That the issuing of such a book should coincide in time with the accession of Queen Elizabeth was unlucky for the argument of the Reformer. Knox had cut off retreat from his position. He might rank Elizabeth with Deborah; but he had refused to clothe even Deborah with civil authority, not doubting that she had "no such empire as our monsters claim." Moreover, he had pledged himself to two more blasts from the same trumpet; and if his argument was good, the elevation of yet another woman to

supremacy would make its enforcement only the more necessary.

A reply to Knox was published at Strasburg by John Aylmer, in the spring of 1559, called "An Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjects against the late blown Blast concerning the Government of Women, wherein be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf, with a brief Exhortation to Obedience." It ended with praise of Elizabeth's simplicity of dress as a princess, her disregard of money, love of books. Her first schoolmaster said to the writer that he learnt of her more than he taught. "'I teach her words,' quod he, 'and she me things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly life teacheth me works to do.'" She had patiently borne affliction. "Let us help her who is come to be our Judith and our Deborah; help with our means, with hearts that will either win or die, and with obedience to God's lieutenant, our sovereign." England calls to her children—England, of whom came that servant of God, their brother, John Wyclif, "who begat Hus, who begat Luther, who begat Truth. Let us seek to requite her with thankfulness, which studieth to keep us in quietness."

Aylmer's Reply to Knox.

John Knox had not made himself agreeable to the queen, and could not obtain from her, in 1559, a passport through England to Scotland. He was obliged to go by sea. His presence in Scotland had been called for, in March, 1557, by the nobles who favoured the Reformation. He had consulted Calvin, and, parting from his congregation at Geneva, had come as far on his way home as Dieppe, when he found that his friends had lost courage, and no longer sought a thorough reformation. From Dieppe he wrote, in October, 1557, an earnest letter to the lords whose faith had failed; another to the whole nobility of Scotland; others to special friends. His letters revived zeal.

The Scottish Reformation.

In December, 1557, the Scottish Reforming nobles met in Edinburgh, and drew up an agreement known as the First Covenant. It bound them to strive even to death "to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His congregation." The Scottish Reformers, who had resolved to abstain from Mass, formed small congregations in private houses. The word Congregation thus became common among them, and the Earl of Argyll and other Reforming nobles who had signed this Covenant were now called Lords of the Congregation. They advised and ordained that the Missal be put aside, and that the Common Prayer be read in all parishes. But as this would not be immediately done, they added counsel that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." The Book of Common Prayer here intended was King Edward's service-book.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews met this movement by burning for heresy Walter Mill, a pious parish priest, eighty-two years old, who said from the flames, "I trust in God that I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland from this cause." He was the last—last of about twenty. His death quickened reaction. Adherents of the Congregation multiplied. A petition was presented to the queen-regent for freedom of worship, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar tongue; freedom to all for exposition of the Scripture; and amendment of the scandalous lives of the clergy. Mary of Guise, personally amiable, though not trustworthy, assented on condition that the Reformers did not preach publicly in Edinburgh or Leith. In November, 1558, the Lords of the Congregation sought to obtain right of worship in the language of the people from a convention of the Roman

clergy, and would have succeeded if they had consented to retain in the services the Mass, with faith in purgatory and prayers for the dead. In November, 1558, the Estates were to meet in Edinburgh, and to Parliament also the Lords of the Congregation were resolved to carry an appeal. They sought of it suspension and modification of Acts against heresy, sought check upon the power of the spirituality. The queen-regent, in good temper and good policy, spoke them fair until she had secured the aid of the Protestant nobles for the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin, which took place in April, 1558; also till she had won from them, in the Parliament which met in November, their consent to the conferring of the crown of Scotland on the dauphin as king-consort.

But then there was a new hope for the Guises. Since Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate, the Queen of Scots was Queen also of England. In England itself there was a large Catholic rural population, and the Guises governed Scotland on one side of her, France on the other. A Scottish synod in March, 1559, repelled the petition of the Congregation; the queen-regent supported the synod, and summoned Reforming preachers to appear at Stirling on the tenth of May. Their friends determined to come with them, unarmed protectors. The regent, alarmed, checked their approach, and caused them to stop at Perth, by promise to withdraw the summons. Then she commanded that the preachers should be declared rebels because they did not come to Stirling.

That was the state of affairs in Scotland when John Knox landed at Leith.

Knox went to Perth, and in the church there preached against idolatry. After his congregation had dispersed, a priest prepared to celebrate Mass; this fired the magazine of zeal. All images and ornaments within the church were broken to pieces; the monasteries of the Black and Grey

Friars and the Charterhouse were sacked. For this excess, armed force was brought against the excited citizens. They shut their gates and issued letters to the queen-regent, the nobility, and "to the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings within Scotland." The Earl of Glencairn with two thousand men checked the queen's troops, and Perth was opened to her on condition that none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of their religion. The Lords of the Congregation quitted Perth next day, after entering into a Second Covenant for mutual support and defence.

The queen-regent did not keep faith with the citizens of Perth, and thereby lost more of the confidence of Scotland. Knox went into Fife. More churches had their images and altars broken. He went boldly to St. Andrew's. The archbishop left the town, Knox preached in the cathedral church on the driving of traffickers from the Temple, and after his sermon the people proceeded to deface all churches in the town, and destroy the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries. The queen threatened again with troops. The people flocked together and were formidable. The queen temporised. The people marched on Perth, compelled the new garrison to surrender, and then burnt the beautiful Abbey of Scone, in which from ancient time the kings of Scotland had been crowned. Destruction of monasteries went on. The cry was, "Down with the crows' nests, or the crows will build in them again."

Finally, the Lords of the Congregation were in Edinburgh, whence the queen-regent had fled. They claimed the reformation of religion and expulsion of the French, who were said to have devoted the land to their own uses, and already to have set up a Monsieur d'Argyll among themselves. Edinburgh was surrendered upon favourable terms, and the Lords of the Congregation went to Stirling. There they signed their names to a Third Covenant, designed to

check the tampering of the queen-regent with individuals. They pledged themselves not to treat with her separately.

Francis and Mary having become King and Queen of France, French soldiers landed at Leith, also a legate from the Pope, and three doctors from the Sorbonne. Now, therefore, the Lords of the Congregation looked to England, and corresponded much with Sir William Cecil. In July, 1559, John Knox enclosed to Cecil a letter for Queen Elizabeth, expressing his attachment to her and her government, though he abided, he said, by the general principles laid down in his "First Blast." Cecil, in answer, simply began his letter with the text, "There is neither male nor female, but we are all one in Christ," and then passed to other matters. Elizabeth still kept Knox at a distance.

Correspondence was continued by the Scottish Lords. The Scottish movement for Church Reform and against French rule went on with the knowledge of Elizabeth, and with the aid of English money. It took presently the form of a plan for replacing the queen-regent by the Earl of Arran. In October, 1559, with open concurrence of Knox, the queen-regent was deprived of her office by "us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland." But the Reforming barons were unable to hold their ground against disciplined troops. They left Edinburgh, and acted each in his own country, looking still to England for help difficult to give, since Scotland and England were at peace. But Elizabeth did, on the ground of danger to England from a French conquest of Scotland, undertake by secret treaty at Berwick to assist in expelling the French. In April, 1560, the English besieged Leith, while the Lords of the Congregation signed a Fourth Covenant, pledging themselves to pursue their object to the last extremity.

The queen-regent died in the midst of these troubles. France and England agreed on a treaty by which soldiers

were withdrawn on both sides. Strife was ended, and peace was proclaimed at the Edinburgh market cross in July, 1560. Nothing was said about Church Reformation, but the way was laid open for it. The Three Estates met on the first of August, and on the seventeenth adopted for the nation a Confession of Faith in twenty-five articles, which embodied the opinions of John Knox. On the twenty-fourth the Estates added to their work three Acts—1, annulling all previous Acts regarding censures of the Church or worshipping of saints; 2, abolishing the Pope's jurisdiction within the realm; and, 3, making it criminal to say a Mass or hear a Mass. The first offence was to be punished with confiscation of goods, the second with banishment, the third with death. Edmund Spenser was at this time about seven years old.

Reformation in England.

Cardinal Pole had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in Queen Mary's reign, on the twenty-second of March, 1556, the day after the burning of Cranmer. He was too moderate a man to please Pope Paul IV., who would have deprived him of the office of Papal legate if Queen Mary had not supported her archbishop. Reginald Pole died on the same day as Queen Mary, and a year then elapsed before the consecration of Elizabeth's first archbishop, Matthew Parker, on the seventeenth of December, 1559.

In the first weeks of her reign the new queen endeavoured, as far as might be, to avoid oppositions of opinion. She did not instantly change the service books, and she discouraged the impatient men who could not wait a day. The bishoprics and pulpits, where they were not vacant, were all held by Roman Catholics, whose faith was that of more than half the people of the country. On the twenty-seventh of December, 1558, Elizabeth forbade all preaching until the Parliament, which was summoned for the twenty-third of January, had considered the future ordering of the Church.

In the meantime there was to be no disuse of services appointed by laws that remained in force until repealed. But she allowed the Epistle and Gospel for the day, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Litany to be read in English, on condition that this should be without any exposition or paraphrase whatever.

Nine bishoprics were vacant at the beginning of the reign, which could in due time be bestowed upon trustworthy Reformers without apparent violence of change; for the Bishops of Salisbury, Hereford, Rochester and Bangor died at the close of Mary's reign, and four more, besides the Archbishop of Canterbury—namely, the Bishops of Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, and St. David's—died soon after her. The Bishops of St. Asaph, Chester, and Worcester left England after Mary's death, while Reformers who had fled into exile in the reign of Mary now flocked back.

Pains were taken by Elizabeth and her councillors to use such ways of influencing elections as might quietly secure the return to Parliament of a majority that favoured Church Reform. On the fourth of February the new House passed a Bill restoring to the Crown those first-fruits and tenths which had been seized by Henry VIII., and restored to the Church under Queen Mary. Then it annulled penal laws against those following the forms of religion used in the last years of the reign of Edward VI. It suppressed and annexed to the Crown religious houses founded by Queen Mary. It appointed public service in the language of the people. It empowered the queen to nominate bishops to the vacant sees. It passed the Act of Supremacy as an Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and for abolishing foreign power. This Act avoided use of the style of Supreme Head of the Church of England, to which there were objections entitled to respect, and declared the queen to be "only and supreme governor of her kingdoms in all

matters and causes as well spiritual and temporal." There were penalties decreed against all writing, printing, teaching, or preaching whereby any foreign jurisdiction over these realms should be defended. There was a clause in the Act empowering the queen's establishment of what afterwards was known as the High Court of Commission.

While these changes were proceeding, cautious steps were taken towards the removal of the Roman Catholic clergy, who still held possession of all the churches. A public disputation upon the chief points at issue between Mary's clergy and the Reformers was appointed to be held at Westminster Abbey, before the Privy Council and both Houses of Parliament. Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, on the part of the Roman Catholics, and, on the part of the Protestants, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom Elizabeth had made Lord Keeper, were appointed Moderators. Four bishops, including Dr. White, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, with Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, and three archdeacons, one of them Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, were to argue for the Roman Catholic view of the matters offered for consideration, and they were to be replied to by an equal number of divines on the other side, four of the eight being Edwin Sandys, John Aylmer, John Jewel, and Edmund Grindal. The argument began on the thirty-first of March, 1559. The three subjects of debate were: The use of a tongue unknown to the people in common Prayers and Sacraments; the right of every Church to change its ceremonial, so it be done to edifying; and whether Scripture allowed the regarding of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and living. On the second day of the discussion the Roman Catholic clergy demanded that the Protestants, as the opposers of established faith, should give their reasons first, and then the Catholics reply to them. This claim of the last word not being allowed, the Catholics refused to open

the debate, and Sir Nicholas Bacon broke up the conference, saying to the bishops who had refused to speak, "Seeing, my lords, we cannot now hear you, you may, perchance, shortly hear more of us."

The Reformers claimed a victory, and the Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church and Administration of the Sacraments was brought into the House of Commons on the eighteenth of April. It was read a third time two days afterwards, passed the House of Lords on the twenty-eighth of April, and was to come into operation on the twenty-fourth of June. A committee of divines had revised King Edward's liturgy by striking out offensive passages against the Pope, such as that in the litany, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us!" They left the old Church festivals, they altered a few collects, they removed the restriction of King Edward's second service-book upon the use of vestments. Way being thus prepared by course of law, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the fourteen bishops who survived, and it was refused by all except the Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Kitchen. The thirteen were deprived; three only—Bonner, White, and Watson—being sent to prison; two were placed under hospitable restraint; the rest went their own way. Most of the monks returned into secular life; nuns crossed the sea. Of the clergy generally, all bowed to the queen's authority, except only eighty Rectors, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Archdeacons, and twelve Deans.

Then came the time for consecration of a new Archbishop of Canterbury, and as there were no bishops to perform the ceremony, the queen's letters patent were issued for that purpose to four divines who had been deprived of their bishoprics in Mary's reign, one of them being Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter.

From this point in the history of English thought,

divisions and subdivisions of opinion will carry us through controversies, at first in the Church chiefly, and then also in the State, that touch the intellectual life of divines, philosophers, historians, poets, and are with us in the life of our own day. Let us pause, therefore, to dwell again upon the meaning of these conflicts of opinion.

Oppositions of Opinion.

If we were so constituted that we always thought aright and alike, opinion would be instinct; we should be no better than the bees. The whole history of man is a tale of conflict. He is in conflict with the forces of the earth, until he binds them to his service. He is in conflict with opinions of his neighbour for the thrashing out, by his own energies, of truth from error—for the slow, sure, evolution of the man who is to be, from Caliban to Christ. The only sense in which man differs from other creatures, as being made in the image of God, is by the gift to man of this energy for the creation of good. It moves chiefly by the action and reaction on each other of differing opinions; by the use of reason through long years, perhaps, of vigorous discussion before it is used finally to add a new gain to the life of man.

Progress depends, first, on the upholding, by each generation, of all good that the former generations have wrestled for and won; next, on the additions made by generation after generation of new gains, and such readjustment of the old possessions as may, here and there, come to be needful under change of times. Whatever his bias, there is not one reasonable man who doubts that all we have we owe, under God, to those who lived before us; that we must be careful to keep undestroyed the good transmitted to us from the past, and at the same time be sufficiently attentive to those modifications and additions which maintain its growth and fit it for our service under new conditions. But if there were infinite variation in the sloping of our planes of

opinion, so that the bias of one should cause opinion to run in the direction of a holding by the treasures of the past, of an upholding of authority; and if it should so happen that the bias of another would cause his opinions to run in the direction of re-shapings, reforms, to benefit the future and become part of the present necessary change; and if, between extremes on either of these sides, there were every conceivable degree of variation in the bias that sways every man's opinion: what should we have then but our world of thought as it was, is, and in this world ever is to be? The oppositions of opinion among men are not calamitous. They are great gifts of God with which He blesses us, as this our little history will show, and the whole history of man would show if man could write it.

A patient study of these endless differences of opinion might suggest that they can, conceivably, be classified, as plants are classified, fall into orders, genera, and species; and that if these were grouped, like the flowering plants, into two great families, then under two such families it would be possible to rank all orders, genera, and species of opinion. Endogens, so to speak, would be known on one side by predominance of bias to authority. Opinion would protect the past from a rash demolition of the structures built up by accumulated wisdom and experience of the best men of many generations, at the first bidding of innovators who certainly belong only to one generation, and perhaps are not the wisest then. On the other side, there would be the large family of, so to speak, the exogens, whose bias causes them to be continually on the search for novelty, for rearrangement, and for beneficial change. On one side—not only in politics and in religion, but in every conceivable thing that is matter of opinion, even to the arrangement of the chairs and tables in a room—there are these Reformers, and on the other side are those Conservatives.

What follows? A famous English statesman, ardent for reform, complained that it takes thirty years to get a reform accepted in England. But they are years spent in securing the foundations on which to build what will endure. One man, in following the bias of his mind, proposes what he thinks a beneficial change. Another man, whose bias runs the other way, is apt to suggest all possible objections to the change. The objections have then to be met. More wits are drawn from either side into the argument, and vigorously to and fro the sieve is shaken that sifts truth from error. If the reform suggested bear the test of full inquiry and become adopted, it may become part of that valid inheritance from the past which we establish for the future. In that case they who were the questioners of innovation will, by the same law, when the change has been effected and proved good, defend its settled order against rash attack.

The full operation of this law of nature, which I believe to be as truly a part of the wisdom of God as movement of the winds and tides—the full operation of this law can be felt only where opinion is free. England owes much of her advance to the fact that all attempts to repress utterance of honest thought have, more or less, failed with the Englishman. The most perfect working of the law would be in a fully civilised society, to which no country in the world has yet attained; for at this day the most advanced is not half civilised.

It may be said that the acceptance of this view of human differences would cool the zeal of argument. But it is obvious that men care naturally for their own opinions, and wish them to prevail. That, also, is a part of Nature that we are unable to alter or to destroy. What should we lose, then, by the practical and general admission that our differences of opinion are a part of Nature, that they are ordained by God as means for the advancement of mankind by the free use of individual energies? The gain would be

that we should no more call our opponents knaves or fools. Blind passions would die out, and leave the reason clear. We should desire to find and deal with the true gist of every opponent's argument, instead of wasting time on passionate misrepresentation, and wasting life on battles in the air. The rate of advance will be doubled when we reason of realities, and lose no love over the work.

This view of our controversies in Church and State, and upon all subjects about which writers differ, will run through the present history of English literature. As far as possible, conflicting opinions will be set forth as they lie in the minds of the best men who maintain, on any side, the truth of their convictions. Now let us return to Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop—the second Protestant Archbishop—of Canterbury.

Matthew Parker was born at Norwich, in the parish of St. Saviour's, on the sixth of August, 1504. His father died when he was twelve years old, and his mother provided liberally for his education until September, 1521, when, at the age of seventeen, he was entered of Corpus Christi, known as Bene't college, Cambridge. Six months after his admission he was made a scholar of the house, or Bible clerk. In 1524 he graduated as B.A. In 1526 he was made sub-deacon; in April, 1527, deacon; in June, 1527, priest. He took his degree of M.A. in the following September, and was then made a Fellow of his college. Nicholas Bacon, five years younger than Matthew Parker, who afterwards was Queen Elizabeth's first Lord Keeper, entered Corpus Christi College at the age of fifteen, two years later than Parker, where he also obtained a Bible-clerkship, and graduated in the year when Matthew Parker was elected Fellow of the college. Parker obtained early distinction as a student of Scripture, as well as of the writings of the early Fathers, and Church History. His mind was vigorous, and inclined by nature to a faithful

Matthew Parker.

study of the past for aid in the interpreting of questions that touched his day.

At Cambridge Matthew Parker had a great affection for Thomas Bilney, who was also born in Norfolk, and perhaps at Norwich. Bilney won Latimer to his faith, in the year of Parker's graduation; and when Bilney, after bold field-preaching in Norfolk, was burnt for his opinions, on the nineteenth of August, 1531, Parker had left Cambridge to be present at the execution, in the valley outside Norwich, under St. Leonard's Hill, and take a last leave of his friend. Afterwards he was his friend's defender against Sir Thomas More's assertion that Bilney had recanted at the stake.

In 1533 Matthew Parker was twenty-nine years old. Cranmer, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the thirtieth of March in that year, then drew the young student from his seclusion at college. Parker was small of body, and not strong in health. His close life of study gave him constant headache, and the university even passed a grace permitting him to preach with his head covered, when Cranmer caused him to be summoned to Court, and he was made chaplain to the new queen, Anne Boleyn.

Anne Boleyn acquired so high a respect for Matthew Parker's piety and wisdom and great learning, that a little while before her death she commended him to the care of her daughter Elizabeth, bidding the child hold by him, trust him, and show herself grateful to him if ever she came to be Queen of England.

In July, 1535—the year in which he proceeded to the degree of B.D.—Anne Boleyn obtained Parker's preferment to the Deanery of the College of Stoke-Clare, in Suffolk, where he had a quiet home for books and friends, and established what his friend Walter Hadden called Parker's Tusculanum. He introduced wholesome reforms into the college at Stoke-Clare, and built a grammar school. Cranmer had granted to Matthew Parker a licence to preach

throughout his province, and Henry VIII. had licensed him to preach throughout the kingdom. He preached often, not only at Stoke-Clare, but also at Cambridge and in neighbouring places, in London churches, and at Paul's Cross. He was subjected to accusations for his boldness, against which he defended himself successfully, having the goodwill of the Lord Chancellor Audley.

After Anne Boleyn's execution, Henry VIII. made Parker his own chaplain, and showed him favour. In 1538 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1542 the chapter of Stoke presented Dr. Matthew Parker to the rectory of Ashen, in Essex, which he resigned in 1544 for the rectory of Birmingham All-Saints, in Norfolk. In that year, also, on the fourth of December, by recommendation of the king, Matthew Parker was appointed Master of Corpus Christi College. Next year, 1545, he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and was presented to the rectory of Land Beach. In 1547 his college of Stoke-Clare, Parker's Tusculanum, was dissolved, but Parker rescued all its library; and in that year, at the age of forty-three—after seven years' delay caused by the statute that made it felony for any clergyman to marry—Matthew Parker married a Norfolk lady, Margaret, daughter of Robert Harlstone, of Mattishall. The lady's brother, Simon Harlstone, who lived at Mendlesham, in Suffolk, was distinguished afterwards in the reign of Mary for his piety and sufferings. Parker's wife was of like character, and had so great sweetness of temper that Ridley is said to have asked whether Mrs. Parker had a sister, for he would marry if there were a wife for him at all like her.

Being in Norwich, on a visit to his friends, at the time of Kett's rebellion in 1549, Matthew Parker went into the camp of the rebels to reason with them. In 1550 he preached at Cambridge the funeral sermon on the death of his friend, Martin Bucer, which was printed by Jugge under the title,

"Howe we ought to take the Death of the Godly, a Sermon made in Cambridge at the Burial of the noble Clerck, D. M. Bucer. By Matthew Parker, D. of Divinitie." In 1552, Parker was presented to the canonry of Covingham, in the church of Lincoln, where he was soon afterwards elected dean.

On the accession of Queen Mary, Matthew Parker shared the fate of all the married clergymen who would not part with their wives. He was stripped of his preferments, and lived, poor and content, under the shelter of a friend's house in Norfolk, with his wife and their two little sons. He was sometimes looked for; and once, in escaping, had a fall rom a horse, of which the hurt remained for life. When Parker, in his day of trouble under Mary, turned the Psalms into English verse, he did so for comfort to himself like that of David, for whom, he says in his metrical preface to this work,

> "With golden stringes such harmonie
> His harpe so sweete did wrest,
> That he relieved his phrenesie
> When wicked sprites possest."

This version of the Psalter—the first in which all the Psalms were fashioned by one person into English metre—finished in 1557, was printed about 1560 by John Day. Parker published also—"against a civilian naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, going about to disprove the said marriages lawful"—"A Defence of Priestes Marriages," written by a learned man who died in the reign of Philip and Mary, with addition of his own "History of Priests' Marriages from the Conquest to Edward VI.'s Reign." This contained several quotations from First-English.

Parker's English Psalter and Defence of Priests' Marriages.

It was a part always of Matthew Parker's argument or Church Reform to show that the Church was, for some

centuries after its first establishment in England, free from the opinions which it was now putting aside; that the doctrine of the Reformers, in all things essential, was not creating a new Church, but restoring the old Church in its uncorrupted purity. For this reason he desired to encourage the study of First-English or Anglo-Saxon, and caused types to be cut of letters used in the writing of First-English, which had since passed out of use. John Day the printer, who worked in Elizabeth's reign with the Reformers, and had himself suffered imprisonment for his opinions, was much liked by Matthew Parker, at whose instance he cast these Anglo-Saxon types, in addition to his other types, Greek, Roman, and Italic. These different types were so cut that they could be set together on one line.

Revived study of First-English.

Matthew Parker was installed as Archbishop of Canterbury on the seventeenth of December, 1559, and seven years afterwards, to meet question of the validity of his consecration, it was confirmed by both Houses of Parliament. After he had been made archbishop, he proceeded to consecrate other divines to the vacant sees, and Edmund Grindal was made Bishop of London on the twenty-first of the same month of December. Three other divines were made bishops on the same day, one of them Edwin Sandys, who became Bishop of Worcester. One month later, on the twenty-first of January, 1560, four more sees were filled by consecration, which included that of John Jewel to the see of Salisbury. There were three more consecrations on the twenty-fourth of March, 1560, including that of Edmund Guest to Rochester.

Edmund Guest, born at Northallerton in 1518, was before his consecration chaplain to Matthew Parker. Like Parker, he had remained in England during Mary's reign, escaping arrest by constant change of hiding-place. Cecil approved his moderation,

Edmund Guest.

and chose him as one of the disputants on the side of reforms in that conference with Roman Catholic divines which came to an abrupt end on its second day. He was also one of the revisers of the liturgy. He had been made Archdeacon of Canterbury in October, 1559, and as Bishop of Rochester was licensed to keep his archdeaconry. He was allowed also to keep a rectory he had at Cliffe, in Kent. Elizabeth made Dr. Guest, in 1560, her Chief Almoner, and also Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. In 1566 he was one of her Lent preachers. In September, 1571, when Jewel died, Dr. Guest was his successor in the see of Salisbury. Edmund Guest wrote in Latin on the disputed question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and on Free Will. He published arguments in English against use of Church services in a language unknown to the people; he wrote also a temperate argument in support of the use of Church vestments, with some other pieces. Dr. Guest was the translator of the Book of Psalms in the Bishops' Bible; his, therefore, is the version retained by the Church of England in the Book of Common Prayer. He died on the twenty-eighth of February, 1577.

John Jewel.

John Jewel, born at Berrynarbor, near Ilfracombe, in 1522, was educated at Barnstaple Grammar School and at Merton and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1540. While a student, Jewel was lamed for life by an illness. When he had taken his B.A. degree he lived by teaching, and was for seven years reader of Latin and rhetoric in his college. In 1544 he commenced M.A. In 1548 Peter Martyr* was called from Germany to teach divinity at Oxford,

* Peter Martyr, born at Florence in September, 1500, became at sixteen a canon regular in the Augustinian house at Fiesole. He was sent to Padua and spent about eight years over studies which included Greek and Hebrew. Highly esteemed as a scholar, he was for three years abbot at Spoleto, then promoted to the richer abbacy of a house

and Jewel became one of his foremost friends and followers. In 1551 John Jewel became Bachelor of Divinity, and took a poor living at Sunningwell, near Oxford, to which, lame as he was, he walked to preach once a fortnight. When Mary became queen, Jewel was expelled from his college as a follower of Peter Martyr, and a Lutheran. The last words of his last public lecture, delivered in Latin, were: "Woe is me, that (as with my extreme sorrow and deep feeling I at last speak it) I must say farewell my studies, farewell to these beloved houses, farewell thou pleasant seat of learning, farewell to the most delightful intercourse with you, farewell young men, farewell lads, farewell fellows, farewell brethren, farewell ye beloved as my eyes, farewell all, farewell."

But he did not yet leave Oxford. Another college sheltered Jewel, and the university, making him public orator, required him to write its congratulations to the queen upon her proposed change of the established religion. He was driven also, by threat of death, to sign doctrines in which he

of his Order at Naples—*St. Peter ad Aram.* There he read works of Bucer and Zuinglius. Falling seriously ill he was appointed General Visitor of his Order, to secure him change of air. Soon afterwards he was appointed Prior of St. Fridian, in Lucca, with episcopal charge over part of the city. His orthodoxy being questioned, he went to Pisa, and passed thence to Zurich. After some stay with the reformers at Zurich he went to Strasburg, and there married. In 1548 Edward VI. and Cranmer invited Peter Martyr to assist in establishing the English Reformation. He was admitted at Oxford to the degree of D.D. that he had taken at the University of Padua. He read divinity lectures at Oxford, and was presented in 1550 to a canonry of Christchurch. His wife went into residence with him, and this caused much breaking of his windows by the theologians of the street. Upon Queen Mary's accession Peter Martyr went to Zurich and to Strasburg, and although invited by Elizabeth he did not again return to England. His first wife died at Oxford and was buried near the relics of St. Frideswide. In Mary's reign her body was dug up and buried in a dunghill. In Elizabeth's reign it was re-interred in the church.

did not believe; whereby he lost his friends and did not satisfy his enemies. Then he fled on foot, and was found lying exhausted on the road by a friend who took him to London. From London, in 1554, he crossed to Frankfort. There he, from the pulpit, with extreme emotion, publicly repudiated his subscription to the doctrines he denied. "It was my abject and cowardly mind," he said, "and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness." His old friend Peter Martyr presently drew Jewel from Frankfort to Strasburg, where he took him into his house as constant companion and helper. Jewel transcribed for the printer his friend's Commentary on the Book of Judges, and read the Fathers with him, especially St. Augustine. Edmund Grindal was among the English refugees with whom Jewel formed closer friendship at Strasburg. In 1556 Peter Martyr was called to the professorship of Hebrew at Zurich, and went thither, taking Jewel with him as a part of his own household. After the death of Mary, John Jewel returned to England, and was one of the divines appointed to represent the views of the Reformers in the disputation at Westminster. John Jewel, being himself a West of England man, was sent to the West of England as one of the commissioners for securing uniformity of worship, and a few months later he was made Bishop of Salisbury. In 1562 Bishop Jewel published in Latin, for readers throughout Europe, his Apology of the Church of England, "*Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Authore Johanne Juello, Episcopo Sarisburiensi.*" It was issued by the queen's authority, as a Confession of the Faith of the Reformed Church of England, showing where and why it had parted from those Roman doctrines which it accounted to be heresies, and how they had arisen in the early Church. This was accepted as a representative book of its time, and was in the same year translated into English by Lady Anna, the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon. The translation was submitted to Jewel and Parker, and printed

by direction of Parker himself, who prefixed an epistle. Another edition of it, with some changes, was published in 1564, by Reginald Wolfe, in Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Brazen Serpent. It is a small book with two leaves in Roman type for the Archbishop's epistle, followed by the work itself on 134 leaves printed in black letter.

A sermon preached by Jewel at Paul's Cross, before the Queen and Council, on the second Sunday before Easter, in the year 1560, was answered without loss of time by Dr. Henry Cole, in "Letters to John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, upon Occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's Majesty and her honourable Council, An. 1560."

Henry Cole. Henry Cole, born at Godshill, in the Isle of Wight, had been educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, studied in Padua and Paris, and read Civil Law lectures at Oxford, where, in 1540, he was made Doctor of Civil Law. In that year he became Rector of Chelmsford, and also Prebendary of St. Paul's. He conformed to Henry VIII.'s claim of supremacy over the Church, and was at the accession of Edward VI. Warden of New College, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Rector of Chelmsford, and Rector of Newton Longueville, in Buckinghamshire. As he conformed only for a few years to the policy of the Reformation under Edward VI., he had resigned his benefices before Edward's death, and on the accession of Queen Mary he became a stout defender of Catholicism. He was made Archdeacon of Ely in 1553; in 1554 he was made Canon of Westminster, Provost of Eton, and D.D. of Oxford. He preached in St. Mary's Church to Cranmer before his execution. In 1556 he was made Dean of St. Paul's. Henry Cole was a man of great learning, whose whole works were disputations in theology, and he was a prisoner in the Tower or the Fleet when he replied to Jewel's sermon. He remained a prisoner for twenty years

until his death at the age of eighty or more, in the beginning of the year 1580.

Another of Jewel's opponents, by whom he was drawn into a voluminous controversy, was Thomas Harding, a Somersetshire man, who passed in his early years through Barnstaple School, Winchester, and New College, took his M.A. in 1542, and was appointed by Henry VIII. Regius Professor of Hebrew. Harding knew Jewel at Oxford, and was a Reformer under Edward VI., who issued letters requiring his appointment as Warden of New College. He conformed to Catholicism with all his heart when Mary became queen, was Gardiner's chaplain and confessor, and did not retract again at the accession of Elizabeth, but retired to Louvain, where he died in 1572. Harding printed at Douay, in 1564, an answer to Jewel's sermon at Paul's Cross, challenging confutation upon any one of three-and-twenty points in favour of the Reformation. If confuted upon any one, Jewel said he would become a Roman Catholic. Harding undertook to confute him upon all the twenty-three in "An Answere to Maister Ivelles Challenge," published in 1564, and followed up in the next year with "A Confutation of a Booke intitled An Apologie of the Church of England." This was printed at Antwerp. Jewel spent days and nights upon the answering of both. Before the year 1565 was out, Jewel published in folio "A Replie unto M. Hardinges Answeare, entitled A Confutation," &c. In 1566, Harding published at Antwerp "A Rejoinder to M^r. Jewel's Replie." In 1567, Jewel published another folio in further answer, and Harding a "Second Rejoinder." In 1568, Jewel produced *Volumen alterum*, and in the same year Harding published "A Detection of sundrie foule Errours," &c., in Jewel's "Defence of the Apologie."

Thomas Harding.

John Jewel died in 1571, at the age of fifty, having broken his health by reducing hours of sleep to the interval between midnight and four in the morning.

At the accession of Elizabeth, John Foxe was in Basel, with a wife and two children, poor, but with a more settled employment than he could afford immediately to leave. His friend Grindal went back to England, but Foxe remained another year at Basel, and for a time suspended, as Grindal advised, the production of his enlarged history of troubles in the Church, because new matter in abundance would now surely come to light. This enlarged book appeared, in its first Latin form in folio, from the press of Oporinus, in August, 1559, and contained some facts that were omitted in the translations.

John Foxe.

In the following October, John Foxe had returned to London, where he was housed by Aldgate at Christchurch, the manor place of his old pupil the Earl of Surrey's eldest son, now Duke of Norfolk. From Aldgate Foxe went every Monday to the printing-office of John Day, whence early in 1563 appeared in folio the first edition of his work in English as "Acts and Monuments of these latter and perillous Dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great Persecutions and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, especiallye in this Realme of Englande and Scotlande, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousande unto the Tyme now present. Gathered and collected according to the true Copies and Wrytinges certificatorie, as wel of the Parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' Registers which were the doers thereof, by John Foxe." To a right student the value of such a book is rather increased than lessened by the inevitable bias of a writer who recorded incidents that had for him a deep, real, present interest, and who had his own part in the passion of the controversy he describes. The work is wonderfully rich in authentic papers, many of which would have been lost if Foxe had not preserved them. It vividly represents one aspect of the strong life of the

The Book of Martyrs.

sixteenth century. The book, dedicated to the queen, was ordered to be set up, together with the Great Bible, in parish churches for the use of all the people, except in times of divine service. There was also to be set up in the churches for use of the people, Jewel's "Defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande, containinge an answeare to a certaine Booke, lately set forth by M. Hardinge." The woodcuts in the original editions of Foxe's Martyrs, with scenes of cruelty and frequently repeated figures of pious men chained to the stake and surrounded by flame, were meant to speak to the eyes of those who read with difficulty, and to enforce on all a strong resentment of the cruelty of those who took such means for the repression of reform. There was a second edition of the "Acts and Monuments," revised by Foxe, in two volumes, in 1570, and a third edition "newly recognised and enlarged by the author," printed also by John Day, in 1576. It is a work of 2,008 folio pages, closely printed in double columns of black letter, with many woodcut illustrations. Though written in the temper of a partisan, the book has withstood every attack upon its honesty. Foxe gave true transcripts of the documents on which he built his case; he referred honestly to records he had seen and used, when all the secrets of the prison houses were open to him. If we divest the book of its accidental character of feud between the churches, it yet stands, in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, a monument that marks the growing strength of the demand for spiritual freedom, defiance of those powers of the flesh that seek to stifle conscience and fetter thought. The day, however, was not come when they who claim such freedom grant it fully to their adversaries.

From the Duke of Norfolk's, Foxe went to live near John Day, for whom he worked as author, translator, and editor. John Day now had a printing-office, growing in size, against the city wall by Aldersgate, and

shops for the sale of his books in several parts of London. Letters to Foxe are extant addressed to him as "dwelling with Master Day, the printer, at Aldersgate," and also to "Master John Foxe, at his house in Grubbe Street." In Grub Street, then, just outside the City walls, and near Day's printing-office, we have, during the early years of Elizabeth, John Foxe, the martyrologist, housed in a quality not unlike that of the bookseller's hack, though he and his bookseller and printer were actually fellow-workers with a common aim, and that the noblest, whereby they were to earn bread in service of their country. Foxe held a prebend at Salisbury, although he was opposed to the compromise with old forms in the ecclesiastical system of the Church, and refused to subscribe to anything but the Greek Testament. He preached at Paul's Cross and elsewhere, but his most important work was that done with John Day.

John Day the printer was, as we have seen, the only man of his calling who cast types in the First-English (or Anglo-Saxon) characters. One incident of the English Reformation was a revived study of First-English, because that was a way to evidence of the antiquity of the Reformed Church. Sermons and writings of its first clergy would show that the Church of the Reformation was in agreement with the Church of England in its earliest state, before corruption had crept in. Foxe, therefore, studied First-English, and one use made by him of Day's types was to produce, in 1571, dedicated to the queen, an edition of the Saxon Gospels. John Foxe died in 1587.

The Saxon Gospels.

There were produced early in the reign of Elizabeth two English versions of the Bible, which remained during the rest of her life commonly in use. These were the Geneva Bible, which appeared in 1560, and the Bishops' Bible, which appeared in 1568.

The Geneva Bible was produced by the English congregation at Geneva during the reign of Mary, chiefly at the cost of John Bodley, the father of Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1557 the New Testament, translated by William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, was first published. It was translated from the Greek text as published by Erasmus, and revised from manuscripts collected by Genevan scholars. Calvin prefixed to it an "Epistle declaring that Christ is the End of the Law." Whittingham then, with the aid of fellow-exiles—Gilby, Sampson, and others—turned to the Hebrew text, and instead of coming to England after the death of Mary, these labourers remained at Geneva to complete their work. Hebrew scholarship had advanced, and the Geneva Bible, completed in 1560, four years before the birth of Shakespeare, was as faithful as its translators could make it. Various readings were given in the margin, and there were notes on points not only of history and geography, but also of doctrine, which distinctly bound this version to the religious school of Calvin. In the Geneva Bible appeared, for the first time, as a plan to secure facility of reference, the now familiar division of the text into verses. In the Hebrew Bible such divisions had been usual. The Dominican Pagninus in 1528 applied it to the Old Testament in Greek. Robert Estienne applied it to the Greek of the New Testament in 1551. Such a complete system of division in an English translation was first seen in the Geneva Bible of 1560. This was the household Bible of those whom we may call—using the phrase in a broad sense—the Elizabethan Puritans. In the dedication of it to Queen Elizabeth, the zeal of the Genevan Reformers was not less harsh than that from which they had suffered themselves in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth was reminded how the noble Josias "put to death the false prophets and sorcerers, to perform the words of the law of God. . . .

The Geneva Bible.

Yea, and in the days of King Asa it was enacted that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be slain, whether he were small or great, man or woman."

The zeal of Elizabeth was not so fierce. Her supremacy had been assured in civil and ecclesiastical matters, and uniformity in religion had been established by law. All persons in the Church, all graduates in the universities, and all persons holding office of the Crown, were required to take the oath of supremacy. A clergyman who did not use the Book of Common Prayer, or who spoke against it, was fined for the first offence a year's value of his living, and was liable also to six months' imprisonment. For the second offence his living was forfeited, and a third offence subjected him to imprisonment for life. The book had been prepared from a comparison of the first and second service-books of Edward Its introduction had been opposed, but when introduced there were, of 9,400 clergymen then in England, only 189 who became Nonconformists, and gave up their livings. Among the laity depreciation of the Book of Common Prayer was also liable to heavy punishment; and there was a fine of a shilling upon all persons who did not attend their parish church or some recognised place of worship on Sunday, unless reasonable cause for absence could be shown.

The Prayer Book.

There was established, also, under the Act of Uniformity, a High Court of Commission, appointed under the Great Seal of England, to determine upon questions of "error, heresy, or schism." Roman Catholics were thus liable to punishment if they disparaged the services of the Reformed Church, and to fine if they stayed away from them; while the Puritans who objected to the retained forms of Catholicism in the English Church might be compelled by the High Court of Commission to accept whatever doctrine or practice the Commissioners declared to be sanctioned by Parliament, by

The High Court of Commission.

a General Council, or by the canonical Scriptures. Any three of the forty-four members of this court might inquire concerning heretical opinions, seditious books, &c., contrary to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; any three, a bishop being one, might try cases of wilful absence from church, and punish offenders by church censures or fines; or might try a clergyman on matters of doctrine. The Commissioners might summon anyone upon suspicion, and put him to his oath.

The Star Chamber.

Elizabeth had also, like the Tudors before her, the sovereign's own court of Star-Chamber. Once this had been useful in overruling feudal power when it thwarted the due course of justice, but it had become a convenient instrument of personal rule. Troublesome members of Parliament and jurors could be imprisoned by it or fined; it undertook the censorship of the press, and in Elizabeth's time prohibited the circulation of Roman Catholic books. This machinery was worked with various degrees of energy.

Questions of Ceremonial.

John Foxe was Nonconformist, and though honoured by the queen, and free, of course, from persecution, he was left in poverty until Cecil contrived that he should have, on his own terms, a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. Thomas Sampson, one of the translators of the Geneva Bible, refused the bishopric of Norwich because he would not take the prescribed oaths, but he was made at Oxford Dean of Christchurch. And Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, another of the early Puritans, was made President of Magdalen College. Different degrees of objection to Church ceremonial produced also a diversity of practice, which was made in 1564 the subject of special inquiry by the High Court of Commission. Thus the clergy were said to officiate, "some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat." Such inquiry led to the deprival and imprisonment of Sampson and Humphreys. The London clergy were called before the

Commissioners, commanded thenceforth "that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel," and summoned singly to conform or lose their livings. Of ninety-eight London clergymen sixty-one subscribed, and thirty-seven were suspended for three months, with threat of deprivation if they did not within that time conform. The objection of those whom Archbishop Parker called "the precise brethren" was to the creation by human authority of laws as part of their religion which were not derived from the authority of the Bible. They followed Wyclif's Bible-men in looking upon the Bible as the only source of law in matters of religion, and found it hard to accept the ceremonial of a Church which had, as they thought, assigned a superstitious value to its clothes. Each clergyman with cure of souls was then required to swear obedience to all the queen's injunctions; to all letters from Lords of the Privy Council; to all articles and injunctions from the metropolitan; to all articles and mandates from his bishop, archdeacon, and other ecclesiastical officers.

Miles Coverdale.

Miles Coverdale, as a Nonconformist, had been neglected in the first years of Elizabeth, until Edmund Grindal, then Bishop of London, obtained for him, in 1562, the London parish of St. Magnus, without oaths required. He was now, at the age of eighty, obliged to give up his living, and was, until his death in 1567, a preacher unattached.

Matthew Parker.

Archbishop Parker was thoroughly sincere in carrying out this policy. There was a wide-spread reverence for the old forms of the Church in rural England. Many scholars and students of the past shared in the reverential feeling, and wished to secure essentials of reform with least possible disturbance of forms and customs that had been blended with the worship of God by their forefathers. Respect for the past was natural to Matthew Parker. In his household all servants, when they had nothing else to do, were required to bind books, to copy

or paint from manuscripts, or engrave on copper. He took pains to collect manuscripts scattered at the destruction of the monasteries, especially the most ancient of those that related to our own Church. He caused four old historians to be edited—Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser's "Life of Alfred." In 1566 he issued Ælfric's Homily on the Lord's Supper, to be read to the people at Easter, before sacrament. The tendency of all his labour is indicated by his own work, a folio printed in Latin in 1572, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, &c.—on the antiquity of the Church of Britain and privileges of the church of Canterbury, with its seventy archbishops. Parker represented honestly, and maintained in the manner of the time, the principle of authority within the Church. His friend, Queen Elizabeth, liked Puritans rather less than Catholics, because their opposition to authority in many of its forms implied, if it spread and took other shape, a possible abridgment of the power of the crown.

De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ.

For the Geneva Bible John Bodley obtained, in 1561, a patent giving exclusive right to print that version for seven years. In 1566, a revised edition being ready, an extension of the licence was applied for, and permitted for twelve years longer, on condition that no impression should pass without the direction, consent, and advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. John Bodley would not consent to that, and the Geneva Bible was printed abroad for English use until the death of Archbishop Parker. Parker, meanwhile, produced, with conscientious care, a version which was to supersede in churches Cranmer's Bible. About 1564, in the year of Shakespeare's birth, he distributed the work of translation among fifteen learned men, most of them bishops, taking for his own share Genesis and Exodus, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and St. Paul's Epistles, except that to the

The Bishops' Bible.

Romans and the first to the Corinthians. He urged on them to do their work "in such perfection that the adversaries can have no occasion to quarrel with it," and published the result in 1568. This translation, from the number of bishops who took part in it, and from the fact that it became, for Elizabeth's reign, the authorised version for church use, was known as "The Bishops' Bible." It put aside, for example, Tyndal's word "Congregation," against which More had contended, and which had remained in Cranmer's Bible, giving the word "Church," that Tyndal had avoided. The Bishops' Bible, when first published, had a portrait of the Queen upon its title page, a portrait of the Earl of Leicester before the Book of Joshua, and there was a portrait of Sir William Cecil placed before the Psalter. But tendencies of thought are indicated by the fact that of eighty-five editions of the English Bible published in Elizabeth's reign, sixty were of the Geneva version.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST YEARS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN: POEMS, PLAYS, AND TALES.

THE sweet spirit of song rises in the early years of Elizabeth's reign like the first chirping of the birds after a thunderstorm. Tottel's Miscellany, issued in June, 1557, as "Songes and Sonnettes, written by the Ryght Honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earl of Surrey, and other," was as a brake from which there arose, immediately before the reign began, a pleasant carolling. This is our earliest poetical miscellany, if we leave out of account the fact that pieces by several writers had been included, in 1532, in the first collected edition of Chaucer's works. Tottel's first edition, of which the earliest date was the fifth of June, 1557, with a reissue on the thirty-first of July, in which there were many variations of the text,*

Tottel's Miscellany.

* First pointed out by J. P. Collier in his edition of "Seven English Poetical Miscellanies, printed between 1557 and 1602, reproduced under the care of J. Payne Collier," London, 1867. Professor Edward Arber, of Mason's College, Birmingham, published in 1870 as a volume of his "English Reprints" "Tottel's Miscellany, Songes and Sonettes by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, Nicholas Grimald, and Uncertain Authors. First edition of 5th June; collected with the second edition of 31st July, 1557." This edition, with a valuable list of "Chronological Memoranda connected with this Miscellany," and a short Introduction by the Editor, is an exact reprint from the original text, in no way modernised, except by placing it, at the price of a shilling, within reach of every modern reader. The numerous pieces of good literature edited by Professor

contained 271 poems, the second contained 280; but thirty poems by Grimald, which appeared in the first edition, were omitted in the second, which appeared a few weeks later, so that between the two there were 310 poems in all. In 1559 there was a third edition of the Miscellany; in 1565, the year after Shakespeare's birth, a fourth. In all, there were eight editions in Elizabeth's reign, the other four being published in 1567, 1574, 1585, and 1587. During the reign of Elizabeth other books of the same kind appeared: "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," collected by Richard Edwards, of Her Majesty's Chapel, then dead, and published in 1576 by a printer named Disle; "A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions," edited by Thomas Proctor, in 1578, but begun by Owen Roydon. The later collections appeared after 1579, and will be described in the next book of this history. They were "A Handefull of Pleasant Delites," by Clement Robinson and divers other, in 1584; "The Phœnix Nest," edited by R. S., of the Inner Temple, gentleman, in 1593; "England's Helicon," edited by John Bodenham, in 1600; and "A Poetical Rhapsody," edited by Francis Davison, in 1602. The most popular of these was "The Paradise of Dainty Devices." In the first edition of Tottel's Miscellany there were thirty-six poems by the Earl of Surrey, to which four were added in the next issue; ninety by Sir Thomas Wyatt, to which six were added; forty by Nicholas Grimald; and ninety-five by unnamed authors, among whom were Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Lord Vaux, Edward Somerset, John Heywood, and Sir Francis Bryan.

In 1556, Tottel published for Nicholas Grimald a

Arber are stereotyped for unlimited diffusion and sold at a small price. He is his own publisher, and his books are most readily obtained by direct application to himself at Mason's College, Birmingham, or at his private address, 34, Wheeley's Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

translation of "Tully's Offices." His connection with Tottel at this time, omission of so much of his verse from the second edition of the Miscellany, and reduction of his name in that edition to the initials N. G., make it possible that Grimald* edited Tottel's Miscellany. In 1558, Tottel issued a second edition of Grimald's Translation of the *De Officiis*. Grimald was dead in May, 1562. Two poems of his, which were not omitted in the second edition, have especial interest as the first specimens in English of original blank verse. One was a piece of 115 lines, on "The Death of Zoroas, an Egyptian Astronomer, in First Fight that Alexander had with the Persians," beginning

Nicholas Grimald.

> "Now clattering arms, now raging broils of war,
> Can pass the noise of taratantars' clang"—

("taratantars" altered in the next edition to "dreadful trumpets.") The other was a somewhat shorter piece, upon the "Death of Cicero."

"The Paradise of Dainty Devices," published in 1576, was dedicated to Sir Henry Compton, knight, Lord Compton of Compton, by H. D., the printer (Henry Disle), who said the book "was collected together through the travail of one both of worship and credit for his private use, who not long since departed this life," that is to say, Richard Edwards, who had died in 1566, aged about forty-three. Many who then took pleasure in verse must have formed for themselves little manuscript collections. Of the pieces collected by Richard Edwards, Disle says that when he had read them, "not without the advice of sundry my friends, I determined, by their good motion, to set them in print, who thereunto greatly persuaded me, with these and like words: the writers of them were both of honour and worship; besides

"The Paradise of Dainty Devices."

* "E. W." viii. 51, 52.

that, our own countrymen, and such as for their learning and gravity might be accounted of among the wisest. Furthermore the ditties are both pithy and pleasant, as well for the invention as metre, and will yield a far greater delight, being as they are so aptly made to be set to any song in five parts, or sung to any instrument." Richard Edwards, as a musician, had, no doubt, kept this in view when making his collection; but the recommendation of the book on this ground may serve as another sign of the diffused skill in music that gave life and movement to old English song, and tuned the mind for action.*

After the Dedication follows, in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," "The Translation of the Blessed S. Barnard's Verses conteining the vnstable Felicitie of this wayfaring world," each pair of St. Bernard's Latin lines, which begin, "*Cur mundus militat sub vana gloria, cujus prosperitas est transitoria,*" is turned into a six-lined stanza. There are eight such stanzas, beginning "Why doth each state apply itself to worldly praise?" and the writer signs himself, "My luck is loss."

Editions of this popular collection, after the first in 1576, appeared within Elizabeth's reign in 1577, 1578, 1580, 1585, 1596, and 1600. Signatures to the pieces were revised in the edition of 1578. "M. Bewe" was omitted. The initials "D. S." were expanded to "D. Sand," probably Dr. Edwin Sandys; his five pieces are all religious in their tone. To the name of Lord Vaux was added, "the elder." "F. K." was expanded to "F. Kindlemarsh." For the name, "R. Hill," which had also been printed "Hall," there was substituted "W. Hunis." The poem, "No pleasure without some pain," one of five which had been signed "E. S." (another form of signature, perhaps, for Edwin Sandys) in the editions of 1576 and 1577 was now signed "W. R.," perhaps assigning it to Walter Raleigh. A poem

* "E. W." vi. 227–231.

of one "who persuadeth his friend from the fond effects of love," anonymous in the editions of 1576 and 1577, was ascribed in 1578 to Thomas Churchyard.

The full title of the collection was: "The Paradyse of daynty deuises, aptly furnished with sundry pithie and learned inuentions: devised and written for the most part by M. Edwards, some times of her Maiesties Chappel: the rest by sundry learned Gentlemen, both of honor and woorshippe. viz. S. Barnarde. E. O. L. Vaux. D. S. Jasper Heyvvood. F. K. M. Bevve. R. Hill. M. Yloop, vvith others. Imprinted at London, by Henry Disle, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the south west doore of Saint Paules Church, and are there to be solde. 1576."

In this list "M. Yloop" is supposed to be a reversal of the name of Pooly. There are two pieces so signed. Eight pieces are without signature or initials. One piece is signed "M. Candish," probably George Cavendish, who wrote the Life of Wolsey. One piece is signed "G. Gaska," who may be George Gascoigne. One is signed Ludowick Lloyd. He was Serjeant-at-Arms to the queen, wrote "The Pilgrimage of Princes" in 1573, and other pieces later. One piece is signed Barnabe Rich. He published, in 1574, "A right excellent and pleasant Dialogue between Mercury and an English soldier; containing his Supplication to Mars; beautified with sundry Worthy Histories, Rare Inventions, and Politic Devices." In 1578, Barnaby Rich dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton an "Alarm to England, foreshowing what Perils are procured when the people live without regard of martial law." One piece, "Lament for the Death of a good wife," is by "F. G.," probably Fulke Greville, a man of mark in after years; but a great part of the collection represents verse of the days before Elizabeth's accession. There are fourteen pieces by Thomas, the second Lord Vaux, who died in the reign of Queen Mary. "E. O.," for Earl of Oxford, is signed to seven pieces, and represents

the much Italianate Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who was accounted at the Court of Queen Elizabeth "a Mirror of Tuscanismo." He lived through the reign.

William Hunnis, from whom twelve pieces were taken, was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal under Edward VI., and master of the boys in Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. He published, in 1550, a translation of "Certain Psalms of David in English Metre," and his subsequent books were religious. His "Hive full of Honey," in 1578, was the whole Book of Genesis in rhyme. He published, in 1585, the Penitential Psalms as "Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin." For this work there was a demand represented by new editions in 1597, 1615, and 1629. It was reprinted also at Edinburgh in 1621. There was annexed to it, with further play on his own name, Hunnis's "Handful of Honeysuckles, containing the Poor Widow's Mite, a Dialogue between Christ and a Sinner, and diverse godly and pithy Ditties, with a Christian Confession of and to the Trinity." There were also ten pieces by Francis Kinwelmarsh, of Gray's Inn, whom we shall meet again. He and his brother Anthony were gentlemen of Essex, and intimate friends of George Gascoigne, whom he joined in a version of an Italian version of one of the plays of Euripides.*

The third of the Poetical Miscellanies, and the last published before 1579, was "A gorgious Gallery of gallant

* Sir Egerton Brydges edited "The Paradise of Dainty Devices" in 1810, from a transcript made by George Steevens, who copied from an edition in the library of his friend, Dr. Richard Farmer. This was "The Paradise of Dainty Devices, reprinted from a Transcript of the First Edition, 1576, in the handwriting of the late George Steevens, Esq. With an Appendix: containing Additional Pieces from the Editions of 1580 and 1600. And Introductory Remarks, Biographical and Critical. By Sir Egerton Brydges, K.G. London, 1810. Appendix to Vol. III. of the British Bibliographer by Sir Egerton Brydges, K.G., and Joseph Haslewood. London: Printed for R. Triphook, 37, St. James's Street, by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 1812."

Inventions, garnished and decked with divers dayntie Devises, right delicate and delightefull, to recreate eche modest Minde withall. First framed and fashioned in sundry Formes' by divers worthy Workemen of late Dayes: and now joyned together and builded up: by T. P. London, for Richard Jones, 1578." * "T. P." was Thomas Proctor, son of John Proctor, Master of Tunbridge School. But the collection seems to have been begun by Owen Roydon, who wrote a preliminary address, in verse, "To the Curious Company of Sycophants," and also the first poem in the volume. The pieces collected by Roydon were all of love poetry. Perhaps it was after Roydon's death that Proctor continued his work in a different spirit, beginning with the heading, "Pretie Pamphlets by T. Proctor." The first of them are "Proctor's Precepts," and the tendency throughout Proctor's part of the work is towards moralising, although love-poems are not excluded. His mind was religious. Among the pieces signed as written by himself, he gives "A View of Vain-Glory," "A Mirror of Mortality," "The Fall of Folly exampled by Needy Age," "*Respice Finem*," "Win Fame and Keep it." Other pieces in his collection are on "Fawning Friendship," "How Time consumeth Earthly Things," "*Aeger Dives habet Nummos, sed non habet Ipsum.* Space is given, however, to a long poem on "Pyramus and Thisbe," and the popular willow song of the deserted maid, beginning

> "Willow, willow, willow, sing all of green willow,
> Sing all of green willow shall be my garland.

* Reprinted by Thomas Park, in 1815, in the first of the three volumes of his "Heliconia, comprising a Selection of English Poetry of the Elizabethan Age; written or published between 1575 and 1604." In this collection the "Gorgious Gallery" was followed by Clement Robinson's "Handefull of Pleasant Delites," "The Phœnix Nest," "England's Parnassus," and other good things. The "Gorgious Gallery" has been reprinted also by the Roxburgh Club, and by John Payne Collier, who reprinted the whole series of seven.

"My love what misliking in me do you find,
Sing all of green willow:
That on such a sudden you alter your mind,
Sing willow, willow, willow:
What cause doth compel you so fickle to be,
Willow, willow, willow, willow:
In heart which you plighted most loyal to me,
Willow, willow, willow, willow."

In 1559, Richard Tottel printed "in Flete Strete, within Temple Barre, at the signe of 'The Hand and Starre,'" a translation into English verse of "the sixt tragedie of the most grave and prudent author, Lucius Anneus Seneca, entituled 'Troas,' with divers and sundrie additions to the same, newly set forth in Englishe by Jasper Heywood, student in Oxforde." John Heywood had two sons—Ellis, the elder, a good scholar, who joined the order of the Jesuits in 1560; and Jasper, who was born about 1535, was educated at Oxford, and, some months before the publication of his version of the "Troas," being twenty-three years old, had resigned a fellowship at Merton College for fear of expulsion. He was elected to a fellowship of All Souls', but left the university, and in 1561, having held by his father's faith, became a Roman Catholic priest. He joined the Jesuits, studied theology for two years, and, after some time abroad, returned to England as Provincial of the Jesuits in 1581. He went abroad again, and died at Naples in 1598. Eight poems of his are in the "Paradise of Dainty Devices"; and he translated from Seneca, in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, not only the "Troas," but also the "Thyestes," in 1560, and the "Hercules Furens," in 1561. Other men set to work on other tragedies. Alexander Neville published, in 1563, a translation of the "Œdipus"; John Studley translated four—"Hippolytus," "Medea," "Agamemnon," and "Hercules Oetæus"; Thomas Nuce translated "Octavia"; and the "Thebais"

Translations of Seneca.

was translated by Thomas Newton, who, in 1581, collected the ten translations into a single volume, published as "Seneca: his Tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh." These translations indicate the strong influence of the Latin tragedy upon the minds of scholars and poets in the birth-time of our native drama. There is no blank verse in them. Jasper Heywood opened his "Troas" with a preface in Chaucer's stanza, but he wrote his dialogue chiefly in couplets of fourteen-syllabled lines. Thus, for example, Hecuba begins*:

"Whoso in pomp of proud estate or kingdom sets delight,
Or who that joys in princes' court to bear the sway of might,
Ne dreads the fates which from above the wavering gods down flings,
But fast affiance fixéd hath in frail and fickle things;
Let him in me both see the face of Fortune's flattering joy,
And eke respect the ruthful end of thee, O ruinous Troy!"

Sometimes the measure of the dialogue changes to four-lined elegiac stanza, which is the measure also of a chorus added by Jasper Heywood himself to the first act:

"O ye to whom the Lord of land and seas,
Of life and death, hath granted here the power,
Lay down your lofty looks, your pride appease,
The crownéd king fleeth not his fatal hour."

At the opening of the second act of the "Troas," Jasper Heywood raised the sprite of Achilles, and made him speak in Chaucer's stanza:

"The soil doth shake to bear my heavy foot,
And fear'th again the sceptres of my hand,

* In translation of Seneca's opening lines—

"Quicunque regnō fidit, et magna potens
Dominatur aula, nec leves metuit deos,
Animumque rebus credulum lætis dedit,
Me videat, et te Troia."

The poles with stroke of thunderclap ring out,
The doubtful stars amid their course do stand,
And fearful Phœbus hides his blazing brand;
The trembling lakes against their course do flyte,
For dread and terror of Achilles' sprite."

The other translators followed Jasper Heywood's lead. With some further variety in the choruses, these are the metres into which the poets of the first years of Elizabeth translated the tragedies of Seneca.

In the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign the revived taste for classical literature not only became, through Plautus and Seneca, part of the early story of our drama, but showed itself variously in the form of bright translations from the Latin. Gavin Douglas's translation of the "Æneid," finished in 1513, was first printed in 1553. Thomas Phaer, who was born at Kilgarran, in Pembrokeshire, studied at Oxford and at Lincoln's Inn. He became advocate for the Marches of Wales, afterwards Doctor of Medicine at Oxford. In May, 1558, in the days of Philip and Mary, six months before Elizabeth's accession, there appeared "The Seven First Books of the Eneidos of Virgil, converted into Englishe meter by Thos. Phaer, Esq., sollicitour to the King and Queenes Majesties attending their honourable counsaile in the Marchies of Wales." He continued the work, and had begun the tenth book, when he died, in 1560, and was buried in Kilgarran Church. In 1562 there were published, dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, Phaer's "Nyne First Books of the Eneidos." The translation was completed with less ability by Thomas Twyne, a Canterbury man practising as a physician at Lewes, and published in 1573. Phaer, who was a fair poet, wrote also on law and medicine. His "Virgil" is in the same fourteen-syllabled rhyming measure which we have seen used in the translation of Seneca.

Translation of the "Æneid."

The other chief translation from the Latin poets in the

early part of Elizabeth's reign was Arthur Golding's Ovid, also translated into fourteen-syllabled lines. Arthur Golding was a Londoner of good family. John Golding, his father, was one of the Auditors of the Exchequer, and died in 1547. A half-sister, by his father's first wife, married John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford. Arthur Golding, when a boy, was in the service of the Protector Somerset, and was about twenty-two years old when Elizabeth became queen. In 1563 he was receiver for his nephew, Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, some of whose verse is in the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," and Golding was then living with his nephew at Sir William Cecil's house in the Strand. It was from the house that had been his father's at Belchamp Saint Paul, in Essex, that Arthur Golding dedicated to Sir William Cecil in 1565 his translation of Cæsar's "Commentaries." He was at Berwick when he finished his translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," on the twentieth of April, 1567. Arthur Golding had much landed property in Essex, and lived, when in London, at a house of his own in the parish of Alihallows on the Wall, from which he dated in 1578 the dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton of his translation of Seneca "De Beneficiis." Golding was in sympathy with the Puritan section of the church, and we shall meet with him again in after years. He was a friend of Philip Sidney's, and he lived, as Sidney did not, to old age. Arthur Golding translated Justin's "History" in 1564 as well as Cæsar's "Commentaries" in 1565, which was the year of the publication of "The Fyrst Fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses, owte of Latin into English meter, by Arthur Golding, gentleman." Two years later, when Shakespeare was three years old, Arthur Golding published his complete translation of "The XV. Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphoses," dedicated to Robert Earl of Leicester. This was the book through which men read the

Translation of Ovid.

"Metamorphoses" in English till the time of Charles I. The metrical epistle to the Earl of Leicester dwells especially upon the profitable teaching that is to be had from Ovid's fables. The preface to the reader begins with religious explanation of the use of the names of feigned gods:—

"The true and everliving God the Paynims did not know;
Which causéd them the name of Gods on creatures to bestow."

. . . . . .

Now when thou read'st of God or man in stone, or beast, or tree,
It is a mirror for thyself, thine own estate to see.

. . . . . .

For this do learned persons deem of Ovid's present work,
That in no one of all his books the which he wrote do lurk
Mo dark and secret mysteries, mo councils wise and sage,
Mo good ensamples, mo reproofs of vice in youth and age,
Mo fine inventions to delight, mo matters clerkly knit,
No nor more strange variety to shew a learned wit.
The high, the low: the rich, the poor: the master and the slave:
The maid, the wife: the man, the child: the simple and the brave:
The young, the old: the good, the bad: the warrior strong and stout:
The wise, the fool: the country clown: the learned and the lout;
And every other living wight, shall in this mirror see
His whole estate, thoughts, words, and deeds expressly shewed to be.

And so in all good days the aim of all good verse has been to hold the candle up to life.

The fourteen-syllabled line is one of the favourite measures in the completed version of "The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, L. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to sing them withall." This appeared in 1562, and it was then attached to the Book of Common Prayer. Church Psalmody.

Among the "others" who translated was Thomas Norton, whose initials were appended to twenty-eight of the Psalms, and who had a hand with Thomas Sackville in the writing of the first Thomas Norton.

English tragedy. Thomas Norton, eldest son of a small landed proprietor, of Sharpenhoe, in Bedfordshire, was born in 1532. He became a good scholar and zealous Protestant, served in his youth the Protector Somerset, and then, in 1555, entered himself as a student of the Inner Temple. In 1561 he published a "Translation of Calvin's Institutes," a folio of nine hundred pages, which went through five editions in his lifetime; and it was in this year that Norton, aged twenty-nine, joined Sackville in the production of the tragedy of "Gorboduc." He was translating Psalms also, for it was in the following year, 1562, that the completed Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins appeared.

Thomas Sackville was four years younger than Norton. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in Sussex, and was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, whom we shall find befriending Roger Ascham. Thomas Sackville went to Oxford at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and thence to Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.A. His university reputation as a poet was referred to by Jasper Heywood, before his version of Seneca's "Thyestes," published in 1560:

Thomas Sackville.

> "There Sackville's sonnets sweetly sauste,
> And featly fynéd bee."

Thomas Sackville married, at the age of nineteen, the daughter of a privy councillor, and sat in a Parliament of Philip and Mary, at the age of twenty-one, as member for Westmorland. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth he was member for East Grinstead, and took part in business of the House. When he left the university, Sackville had entered himself to the Inner Temple. Thus it was that he joined Norton, also of the Inner Temple, in the writing of "Gorboduc" for Christmas recreation of the Templars.

Great lords had for many years kept servants paid to

provide them with amusement.* Records of the Augustine Priory at Bicester show that, in 1431, minstrels of different lords visited the monastery. In a like record of another house of the Augustines, such entertainers were before 1461 called mimes and players. A MS. of the time of Henry VI. laid against those old entertainers a complaint raised also against the first professional actors in Elizabeth's day, that they profaned the holy days—

Players.

> "Goddis halidays non observantur honeste,
> For unthrifty pleyes in eis regnant manifeste."

From that time till the first years of Elizabeth's reign there had been itinerant performers, acting as retainers of the nobility. In the north, in 1556, there were six or seven persons acting in the livery of Sir Francis Leek.

Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had such theatrical servants, and wrote in April, 1559, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, for their licence to play in Yorkshire, they having already leave to play in divers other shires.

The Earl of Leicester's Servants.

Mary suppressed plays which contained attacks upon her Church, and gave impulse to the reproduction of miracle plays. In 1556 the "Passion of Christ" was acted at Greyfriars, in London, before the Lord Mayor and Privy Council. It was repeated in 1557, and in the same year, on St. Olave's night, the "Life of St. Olave" was acted in his church in Silver Street. Elizabeth on her accession required the licensing of plays and interludes, with refusal of licence to those touching questions of religion and government.

Court entertainments had been placed in 1546 under the management of Sir Thomas Cawarden, probably the first Master of the Revels; and at Christmas there was a Lord of Misrule. At Christmas, in 1551, Holinshed says that in the place of the Lord of

Court Entertainments.

* "E. W." vi. 228-231.

Misrule "there was, by order of the Council, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this year, who being of better credit and estimation than commonly his predecessors had been before, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the Master of the King's Pastimes." But Sir Thomas Cawarden was Master of the Revels—or, in official language, "Magister Jocorum, Revellorum et Mascorum"—until 1560, when he died, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Benger. Elizabeth reduced the cost of her amusements. Mary had paid two or three thousand a year in salaries to her theatrical and musical establishment; Elizabeth reduced this, but still had salaried interlude players, musicians, and a keeper of bears and mastiffs. The gentlemen and children of the Queen's Chapel were also employed as entertainers.

At Christmas, 1561, many of the Queen's Council were present at the festivities of the Inner Temple; and the Lord of Misrule rode through London in complete harness, gilt, with a hundred horse, and gentlemen riding gorgeously with chains of gold and their horses goodly trapped.

Sackville and Norton's "Gorboduc."

The performance of "Gorboduc," in 1561, was at one of the Grand Christmases kept by the members of the Inner Temple. The question as to the keeping of a "Grand Christmas" was discussed in a parliament of the Inn, held on the eve of St. Thomas's Day, the twenty-first of December. If it was resolved upon, the two youngest of those who served as butlers for the festival lighted two torches, with which they preceded the benchers to the upper end of the hall.

The senior bencher there made a speech; officers were appointed for the occasion, "and then, in token of joy and good liking, the Bench and company pass beneath the hearth, and sing a carol."

The revellings began on Christmas Eve, when three

Masters of the Revels sat at the head of one of the tables. All took their places to the sound of music played before the hearth. Then the musicians withdrew to the buttery, and were themselves feasted. They returned when dinner was ended, to sing a song at the highest table. Then all tables were cleared, and revels and dancing were begun, to be continued until supper and after supper. The senior Master of the Revels, after dinner and after supper, sang a carol or song, and commanded other gentlemen there present to join him. This form of high festivity was maintained during the twelve days of Christmas, closing on Twelfth Night. On Christmas Day (which in 1561 was a Thursday), at the first course of the dinner, the boar's head was brought in upon a silver platter, followed by minstrelsy. On St. Stephen's Day, the twenty-sixth of December, the Constable Marshal entered the hall in gilt armour, with a nest of feathers of all colours on his helm, and a gilt pole-axe in his hand; with him sixteen trumpeters, four drums and fifes, and four men armed from the middle upward. Those all marched three times about the hearth, and the Constable Marshal, then kneeling to the Lord Chancellor, made a speech, desiring the honour of admission into his service, delivered his naked sword, and was solemnly seated. That was the usual ceremonial when a grand Christmas was kept. At this particular Christmas, 1561, in the fourth year of Elizabeth, it was Lord Robert Dudley (not Earl of Leicester till September 1564), who was Constable Marshal, and with chivalrous gallantry—taking the name of Palaphilos, Knight of the Honourable Order of Pegasus, Pegasus being the armorial device of the Middle Temple—he contributed to the splendour of this part of the entertainment. After the seating of the Constable Marshal, on the same St. Stephen's Day, the twenty-sixth of December, the Master of the Game entered in green velvet, and the Ranger of the Forest in green satin; these also went three times about the fire,

blowing their hunting-horns. When they also had been ceremoniously seated, there entered a huntsman with a fox and a cat bound at the end of a staff. He was followed by nine or ten couple of hounds, who hunted the fox and cat to the blowing of horns, and killed them beneath the fire. After dinner, the Constable Marshal called a burlesque court, and began the Revels, with help of the Lord of Misrule. At seven o'clock in the morning of St. John's Day, the twenty-seventh of December (which was a Saturday in 1561), the Lord of Misrule was afoot with power to summon men to breakfast with him when service had closed in the church. After breakfast, the authority of this Christmas official was in abeyance till the after-dinner Revels. So the ceremonies went on till the Banqueting Night, which followed New Year's Day. That was the night of hospitality. Invitations were sent out to every House of Court, that they and the Inns of Chancery might see a play and masque. The hall was furnished with scaffolds for the ladies, who were then invited to behold the sports. After the play, there was a banquet for the ladies in the library; and in the hall there was also a banquet for the Lord Chancellor and invited ancients of other Houses. On Twelfth Day, the last of the Revels, there were brawn, mustard, and malmsey for breakfast after morning prayer, and the dinner as on St. John's Day. It was for the Banqueting Day of the Grand Christmas of the Inner Templars that the two members of that Inn, Thomas Sackville—whose father was then Governor of the Temple—and Thomas Norton, wrote a play in English upon the model of the tragedies of Seneca; as "Ralph Roister Doister" had been written on the model of Plautus or Terence, and acted instead of "Andria" or "Phormio."

There was a reason for their choice of subject. Elizabeth had not been very long upon the throne. Before her accession England had been a house divided against itself

by strong conflicts of opinion. Elizabeth was queen of a divided people. In her first speech from the throne, she said that her desire was "to secure and unite the people of this realm in one uniform order, to the honour and glory of God, and to general tranquillity," and spoke of "concord and unity, the very marks which they were now to shoot at." But unity was hard to attain. When she had been queen not quite a year, the Spanish Ambassador reported from London to the Count de Feria, "It is the devil's own business here. But the Catholics grow stronger daily, and the heretics are quarrelling with one another so bitterly that they have forgotten their other enemies." To say nothing of other jarring notes, in August, 1561, Mary Stuart landed in Scotland. Sackville and Norton, therefore—one of them a young poet with the aspirations of a statesman, the other a man intensely interested in the contest against Roman Catholic influence—resolved to present before their audience of privy councillors, lawyers, and other foremost men, a play that should urge with all possible force "concord and unity" as the very mark at which a nation must shoot. Their patriotic purpose was to insist on the queen's thought, by writing a play that should dwell throughout upon the danger hanging over any nation that is as a house divided against itself. They found a tale of civil strife to suit their purpose in the same old chronicle which has yielded also to poetry the story of King Lear, and which brought King Arthur again among us, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle of British Kings. The story chosen by them is, indeed, in the chronicle the next fable after that of Lear. Cordelia, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle, enabled her father to defeat his sons-in-law, and end his life as King of all Britain. She succeeded him, and was for five years queen; then she was rebelled against by her sisters' sons, Margan and Cunedagius. They overcame her, and divided the island between themselves. But Margan then attacked

Cunedagius, who, by overthrowing his cousin, again brought Britain under single rule. And this is said by the ingenious chronicler to have happened at the time when Romulus and Remus founded Rome. Then Geoffrey goes on to the story which seemed to Sackville and Norton fitted for their purpose—

At last Cunedagius dying, was succeeded by his son Rivallo, a fortunate youth, who diligently applied himself to the affairs of the government. In his time it rained blood three days together, and there fell vast swarms of flies, followed by a great mortality among the people. After him succeeded Gurgustius, his son; after him Sisillius; after him Jago, the nephew of Gurgustius; after him Kinmarcus, the son of Sisillius; after him Gorbodugo, who had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex.

When their father grew old they began to quarrel about the succession; but Porrex, who was the more ambitious of the two, formed a design of killing his brother by treachery, which the other discovering, escaped, and passed over into Gaul. There he procured aid from Suard, king of the Franks, with which he returned and made war upon his brother; coming to an engagement, Ferrex was killed and all his forces cut to pieces. When their mother, whose name was Widen, came to be informed of her son's death, she fell into a great rage, and conceived a mortal hatred against the survivor; for she had a greater affection for the deceased than for him, so that nothing less would appease her indignation for his death than her revenging it upon her surviving son. She took, therefore, her opportunity when he was asleep, fell upon him, and with the assistance of her women tore him to pieces. From that time a long civil war oppressed the people, and the island became divided under the power of five kings, who mutually harassed one another.

Having arranged this story for their purpose, the authors of our first tragedy parted the work between them; Norton writing the first, second, and third acts, and Sackville the fourth and fifth, though, as they worked in fellowship, each may have had some hand in the part chiefly entrusted to the other. They divided the story into five acts, each closed with a chorus, exactly in Seneca's manner, and the verse they agreed to use was the blank verse upon which Italian

poets had been experimenting. Experiment of that kind had first been tried among us at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign by the Earl of Surrey,* and that had not been printed until just before Elizabeth's accession. The use of it in our first tragedy was, therefore, a trial made accidentally of a new-fashioned measure. When comedies followed, the more familiar forms of rhyming verse were at first generally used, but "Gorboduc" had probably some part in determining the use of blank verse by the next writers of English tragedy. We have blank verse now as it has been developed by the genius of Shakespeare and Milton. Only in England has it thus been created anew by supreme masters of song. For that reason we have it as a national measure, and the worthiest that ever any nation called its own. In "Gorboduc" there was but a slight indication of its undeveloped powers.

The story, as arranged for representation, was set forth in an Argument by the two dramatists. When put thus baldly, it is, with its "kill, kill, kill," a little ludicrous through the intensity of its suggestion that disunion may lead to the worst ills.

The Argument of the Tragedy.

Gorboduc, King of Britain, divided his realm in his lifetime to his sons, Ferrex and Porrex. The sons fell to dissension. The younger killed the elder. The mother, that more dearly loved the elder, for revenge killed the younger. The people, moved with the cruelty of the fact, rose in rebellion, and slew both father and mother. The nobility assembled, and most terribly destroyed the rebels; and afterwards, for want of issue of the prince, whereby the succession of the crown became uncertain, they fell to civil war, in which both they and many of their issues were slain, and the land for a long time almost desolate and miserably wasted.

The play was received with great applause. Lord Robert Dudley, high in honour at that particular Grand Christmas in the Inner Temple, and first favourite of the queen, would

* "E. W." viii. 61, 62.

add his witness to the common report of a zeal for the welfare of England, which had caused the writers of the play to insist with all their might upon concord and unity as the very mark at which good Englishmen should aim. The queen, therefore, added to the lesson all emphasis in her power by commanding the play to be repeated about a fortnight later—that is to say, on the eighteenth of January, 1562 (new style)—before herself and her Court at Whitehall. It thus had the conspicuous success that, in a new thing, always suggests imitation.

A contemporary MS. note* says of the performance before Queen Elizabeth, that "on the 18th of January, 1561" (new style, 1562), "there was a play in the Queen's hall at Westminster by the gentlemen of the Temple after a great mask, for there was a great scaffold in the hall, with great triumph as has been seen; and the morrow after, the scaffold was taken down."

The fame of the play caused some young Templar, in the year 1565 (the year after the birth of Shakespeare), to sell a copy of it—perhaps one of the MS. copies used by the performers in learning their parts—to William Griffith, a bookseller, whose shop was opposite the Temple, in St. Dunstan's Churchyard, and by him it was first published on the twenty-second of September of that year as "The Tragedy of Gorboduc, whereof three Actes were wrytten by Thomas Nortone, and the two last by Thomas Sackvyle. Set forth as the same was shewed before the Queen's most excellent Maiestie, in her highnes Court of Whitehall, the xviii. day of January, Anno Domini, 1561. By the gentlemen of Thynner Temple in London." This was an unauthorised publication, upon which the following note was made in the authorised edition, which did not appear until the beginning of 1571 (1570, old style):—"Where this Tragedy was for furniture of part of the Grand Christmas in the Inner Temple, first

* Cotton MSS., Vit. F. v.

written about nine years ago by the right honourable Thomas, now Lord Buckhurst, and by T. Norton, and afterwards showed before Her Majesty, and never intended by the authors thereof to be published : yet one W. G." (William Griffith) "getting a copy thereof at some young man's hand that lacked a little money and much discretion, in the last great Plague, anno 1565, about five years past, while the said lord was out of England, and T. Norton far out of London, and neither of them both made privy, put it forth exceedingly corrupted"—and so here was a true copy, printed by John Day, at Aldersgate. Probably to distinguish this edition from the spurious one, the title of the play was altered from "Gorboduc" under which name it must certainly have been presented—to "Ferrex and Porrex." The title of this edition was "The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex, seth forth without addition or alteration, but altogether as the same was showed on stage before the Queen's Maiestie about nine yeares past, vz, the xviii. day of Janvarie, 1561, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple."

Each act was preceded by an allegorical masque foreshadowing the meaning of its story, and, as the play was modelled on the tragedies of Seneca, each act was closed with meditative stanzas spoken by a Chorus of four wise elders of Britain. As the original name of the play was "Gorboduc"—for the young man "that lacked a little money and much discretion" would not have been so indiscreet as to raise money upon its credit by selling it under any other name than its own—we may set aside as an afterthought the change of title. It may be true, however, that besides distinguishing clearly by a difference of name the authorised from the unauthorised copies, the central thought of the play—strife, and the ruin in its train—is better marked by the names of the two brothers between whom the feud began, than by the single name of the father whose establishment of a divided power in the land caused all the misery that followed.

The structure of the play of "Gorboduc" is very simple:

"*Gorboduc.*"

Act I.—After a dumb-show of the bundle of sticks which could be broken only when they were no longer bound together, Videna, the wife of King Gorboduc, tells Ferrex, her eldest son, with "griefful plaint," that his father intends to deprive him of his birthright by equal division of his kingdom between both his sons. King Gorboduc will seek that day the consent of his council. Gorboduc then himself unfolds his plan to his council. One councillor argues at length that the king does wisely; another argues at length that equal division between the two sons is good, but not good to be made in their father's lifetime; a third, the good councillor, Eubulus, argues at length that division of rule is bad for Gorboduc, bad for Ferrex and Porrex:

> "But worst of all for this our native land.
> Within one land one single rule is best:
> Divided reigns do make divided hearts:
> But peace preserves the country and the prince."

He recalls the civil wars that had been:

> "What princes slain before their timely hour!
> What waste of towns and people in the land!
> What treasons heaped on murders and on spoils!
> Whose just revenge even yet is scarcely ceased:
> Ruthful remembrance is yet raw in mind.
> The gods forbid the like to chance again."

Gorboduc, having listened to his councillors, does what he meant to do. He assigns England north of the Humber to Porrex, and the south to Ferrex. A chorus then in four stanzas points the moral of this portion of the story.

Act II.—After a dumb-show of a king who refused the good wine offered by age and experience, and took the poison offered by one who looked pleasanter, there are two scenes. One shows Ferrex between two counsellors, of whom one is a parasite, the other trustworthy. The parasite humours wrath against father and brother; the good counsellor seeks to prevent dissension. Ferrex resolves to prepare himself in arms against the possible devices of his brother, and leaves the stage in company with the bad counsellor. Porrex is then shown also between two counsellors, one of whom tells him that his brother is

arming against him, and promotes a strife which the other counsellor endeavours to prevent. Porrex will not give Ferrex leisure to prepare his force, but will at once attack him. He also leaves the stage in company with his bad counsellor, and the good counsellor resolves to haste to Gorboduc "ere this mischief come to the likely end." Chorus then in four stanzas deplores the rashness of youth, and condemns the false traitor who undermines the love of brethren.

Act III.—After a mask of mourners clad in black, who pass thrice about the stage, Gorboduc is shown as he lays before his best and worst councillor the tidings of the strife between his sons, tidings brought to him promptly by the peacemaker from each. While he is being counselled to use his authority as a father, and to make his power seen, a messenger comes to tell that Porrex has already carried out his threat, and slain his brother Ferrex. The father breathes revenge against the traitor son, and Chorus ends the act with moralising on the lust of kingdoms and the cruelty of civil strife.

Act IV.—After a masque of the three Furies, each driving before her a king and queen who had unnaturally slain their own children, Queen Videna laments for her first-born, and breathes vengeance against Porrex:

> "Changeling to me thou art, and not my child,
> Nor to no wight that spark of pity knew."

King Gorboduc then has his son Porrex brought before him by Eubulus. Porrex expresses deep repentance, does not ask to live, but shows how the bond of love had been unknit by the division of the kingdom. His brother, he says, had hired one of his own servants to poison him. Gorboduc sends Porrex from his presence as an "accursed child" until he shall have determined how to deal with him. Then, while he laments to his councillors, a woman of the queen's chamber enters in distraction, and tells how Porrex has been stabbed in his sleep by his mother. At the close of the act the meditation of the chorus harmonises as usual with the matter of the dumb-show that preceded it.

Act V.—After a dumb-show of war and tumult, the Dukes of Cornwall, Albany, Lloegria, and Cumberland possess the stage, and we learn that the people have risen and slain both Gorboduc and his queen. The lords, therefore—Eubulus one with them—are armed against the people, for, says Eubulus,

> "Though kings forget to govern as they ought,
> Yet subjects must obey as they are bound."

A long argument of Eubulus upon the best way to deal with "skilless rebels" is followed by the marching off of all the lords, except Fergus

Duke of Albany, who stays to meditate the raising of himself to supreme rule. Fergus proceeds to his own kingdom to buy arms. Eubulus relates, with moralising, the misery and destruction of the people; the great lords return from

> "The wide and lazy fields
> With blood and bodies spread of rebels slain;
> The lofty trees clothed with the corpses dead,
> That, strangled with the cord, do hang thereon."

But a messenger brings news of the advance against them all of Albany with twenty thousand men. They hasten to more conflict

> "Upon the wretched land
> Where empty place of princely governance,
> No certain stay now left of doubtless heir,
> Thus leave this guideless realm an open prey
> To endless storms and waste of civil war."

One argues that for the welfare of their native land the crown be adjudged to one of their own country by common counsel of them all:

> "Such one, my lords, let be your chosen king,
> Such one so born within your native land:
> Such one prefer, and in no wise admit
> The heavy yoke of foreign governance."

Eubulus ends the play with a long moralising on the situation, which includes a glance at the danger to the kingdom

> "When, lo, unto the prince,
> Whom death or sudden hap of life bereaves,
> No certain heir remains."

Thus our first tragedy distinctly grew out of the life of its own time, and gave expression to much that lay deep in the hearts of Englishmen in the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The best poetry of the play is in the fourth act, which certainly is Sackville's; and the fifth may well represent the youth of one who gave his after life to State affairs.

With one other work of mark in the Elizabethan time

Sackville's name was associated before he turned from poetry, as pleasure of his youth, and gave his life to politics. This was the "Mirror for Magistrates," a work that expanded as the reign went on, into a long series of poems, moralising those incidents of English history which warn the powerful of the unsteadiness of fortune, by showing them as in a Mirror that "who reckless rules right soon may hap to rue." A printer in Queen Mary's time seems first to have designed a long sequence of narrated "Tragedies," as all tales of the reverse from high and happy fortune were then called. From the Conqueror downward, a series of poems from English history, suggested by Boccaccio's "Falls of Illustrious Men," was to moralise the past for the use of the present, and teach men in authority to use their power well. In Sackville's mind, the plan of a mere rhyming sequel to Lydgate's "Falls of Princes" took shape nobly, and he meant himself to write a sequence of the tragedies, but he wrote only two poems. These were an "Induction," which was designed as general introduction to the series of his own writing, and the "Complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham."

The "Mirror for Magistrates."

Thomas Sackville.

The "Induction" is the best of Sackville's poetry. It follows the old forms, and is an allegory in Chaucer's stanza. Opening, not with a spring morning, but with winter night and its images of gloom and desolation, the poet represents himself abroad, mourning the death and ruin of all summer glory, when he meets a woe-begone woman clad in black, who is allegorically painted as Sorrow herself. Her home is among the Furies in the infernal lake:

> "Whence come I am, the dreary destiny
> And luckless lot for to bemoan of those
> Whom Fortune, in this maze of misery,
> Of wretched chance, most woeful mirrors chose:
> That when thou seest how lightly they did lose

Their pomp, their power, and that they thought most sure,
Thou may'st soon deem no earthly joys may dure."

By Sorrow the poet was to be taken

"First to the grisly lake,
And thence unto the blissful place of rest,
Where thou shalt see, and hear, the plaint they make
That whilom here bare swing among the best."

The descent of Avernus and the allegorical figures within the porch and jaws of hell—Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Care, Sleep, Old Age, Malady, Famine, War, Deadly Debate, Death—are described with dignity and energy of imagination.

In reading Sackville's "Induction," we find ourselves, indeed, very far on the way from Stephen Hawes to Spenser.

The poet, and Sorrow his guide, were ferried across Acheron, passed Cerberus, and reached the horror of the realm of Pluto. At the cry of Sorrow the rout of unhappy shades gathered about them; and first Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, when he could speak for grief, began his plaint, bade Sackville mark well his fall,

"And paint it forth, that all estates may know:
Have they the warning, and be mine the woe."

Sackville wrote in the series no other tragedy than this, perhaps because his way of life drew him from literature, perhaps because he was too good a poet to be satisfied with this manner of work. His "Complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham," abounds in poetry of thought and musical expression, but the essential difference between a history and a poem makes itself felt. The unity of the piece as a poem is marred by faithful adherence to historical detail, and Sackville no doubt felt that he must either illustrate the good doctrine of Aristotle in his Poetics, and write

poems that were not exactly histories, or he must write histories that were not exactly poems. The very excellence, also, and intensity of his "Induction" struck a note which the sequence of tragedies, unless they were true poems, would not sustain.

Sackville left, therefore, to Baldwin and his friends the working out of the printer's first idea.

William Baldwin and George Ferrers.

The work had been undertaken by William Baldwin with aid chiefly from George Ferrers. In his hands the "Mirror for Magistrates" meant simply a long English sequel to Boccaccio, as versified in Lydgate's "Falls of Princes." It was a series of metrical biographies, begun and part printed in 1555, but stopped by the intervention of Stephen Gardiner, who was then Lord Chancellor, and who died in November of that year.

After the accession of Elizabeth, a licence was obtained, in 1559, and in that year the "Mirror for Magistrates" was first issued. It had a prose introduction, showing how it was agreed that Baldwin should take the place of Boccaccio, that to him the wretched princes should complain, and how certain friends "took upon themselves every man for his part to be sundry personages." Then they opened books of chronicles, and "Maister Ferrers (after he had found where Bochas left, which was about the end of King Edward the Third's reign) said thus:—'I marvel what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his miserable princes such as were of our own nation. . . . Bochas, being an Italian, minded most the Roman and Italian story, or else, perhaps, he wanted the knowledge of ours. It were, therefore, a goodly and notable matter to search and discourse our whole story from the first beginning of the inhabiting of the isle. But seeing the printer's mind is to have us follow where Lydgate left, we will leave that great labour to other that may intend it, and (as one being bold first

to break the ice) I will begin at the time of Richard the Second, a time as unfortunate as the ruler therein.'" Ferrers began, therefore, with the fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, in Chaucer's stanza, with the lines lengthened from ten syllables to twelve. There are some other measures, but the greater part of the "Mirror for Magistrates" is in Chaucer's stanza, with prose talk by the company between the tragedies. The work, as published in 1559, contained nineteen tragedies, beginning with "Tresilian" and ending with "Edward IV." The greater number of these were written by Baldwin; Ferrers wrote three; and one, on Owen Glendower, was written by Phaer the translator of Virgil. In 1563 another edition appeared, in which eight tragedies were added, one being Sackville's "Complaint of Buckingham," with the "Induction" placed before it, and another, the story of Jane Shore, by Thomas Churchyard.

William Baldwin, chief editor of the "Mirror for Magistrates," was an ecclesiastic, whose father had worked in a printing-office. He himself acted as corrector of the press for Edward Whitchurch, who printed in 1547 Baldwin's "Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing the Sayings of the Wise." In 1549, Baldwin set with his own hand the types of his own rhymed version of "The Canticles or Balades of Salomon." He was employed also under Edward and under Mary in the arrangement of court entertainments. He graduated at Oxford, about 1532, and became a minister and a schoolmaster.

George Ferrers was born at St. Albans, educated at Oxford, then student of Lincoln's Inn. He was in Parliament under Henry VIII., was patronised by Thomas Cromwell, and imprisoned in 1542. He translated Magna Charta and some other statutes from Latin and French into English, was of the suite of the Protector Somerset, and is said to have compiled the part of Grafton's Chronicle which tells

the history of Mary's reign. He composed interludes for the Court; in 1553 he was the king's Lord of Misrule at Greenwich for the twelve days of Christmas; he wrote other rhyme than that in the "Mirror for Magistrates"; and he died in 1579.

In 1574, John Higgins published "The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates," containing sixteen legends of his own, for the period from Brut to the birth of Christ. He opened his work with a general Induction in Chaucer's stanza, which was suggested to him by Sackville's. John Higgins was a clergyman and schoolmaster at Winsham, in Somersetshire, who wrote some scholastic books, and was alive in 1602, when he joined in a theological controversy. Editions of the "First Part" and of the "Last Part" of the "Mirror for Magistrates" were in demand till 1578, when there appeared a "Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates," containing twelve legends by Thomas Blennerhasset, and filling up in the wide scheme the period from Cæsar's Invasion to the Norman Conquest.

John Higgins.

Thomas Blennerhasset.

An edition of the "Mirror for Magistrates," in 1587, united the collections of Baldwin and Higgins, adding chiefly new legends by John Higgins, but also a legend of Wolsey by Thomas Churchyard. This was the most complete form attained by the work during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, It was popular throughout the reign, and one of the sources from which dramatists, when they arose, drew plots for plays.

Thomas Sackville was knighted in 1567, the year after his father's death, and made a baron as Lord Buckhurst. He rose in the State, and after the death of Lord Burghley, in 1599, succeeded him as High Treasurer of England. Early in the next reign, in 1604, Sackville was made Earl of Dorset, and in 1608, being then seventy-two years old, he died while sitting at the Council Table.

Thomas Sackville.

Thomas Churchyard was born in Shrewsbury, about the year 1520. Being apt for study, his father, who was of good position, gave him liberal school training, and had him taught to play upon the lute. At seventeen he received from his father the value of a house and land that were, or would be, his, and went to Henry VIII.'s Court to seek his fortune in the world.

Thomas Churchyard.

> "So born I was to house and land by right,
> But in a bag to court I brought the same,
> From Shrewsbury town, a seat of ancient fame."

At Court he spent his money, and, as we have seen, entered the service of the Earl of Surrey, under whom he had four years of training, and to whom he looked back in after life with gratitude, as the first man who had given him substantial encouragement to cultivate his powers as a poet. Some pieces of his in Tottel's Miscellany were written, perhaps, in these days of his youth.

In 1542, when his age was about two-and-twenty, Churchyard was pressed for a soldier in the wars of Henry VIII. and the Emperor against France. He says, in "Churchyard's Choice," that he saw the great harm done at this time in the Netherlands by the army of the Duke of Vendôme about St. Omer's, he himself "being then a soldier on the Emperor's side, under Monsieur de Rues, Grand Master of Flanders." Churchyard's service in these wars ended in 1544, at the peace of Crespy, after which, as he says,

> "Aweary of those wasting woes awhile he left the war,
> And for desire to learn the tongues he travelled very far."

But the travel could not have been for more than a year, since Churchyard next saw service as a soldier in 1545, when fifteen thousand Scots marched to the Border, and encamped for ten days over against the English

castle of Wark, where he was one of the garrison. The Scots made daily expeditions from before Wark for the harrying and plundering of England, and, in spite of attacks from the garrison, they wasted all the country within six miles round.

In 1548, when the English had strong garrisons in Haddington and Lauder, and were besieged in both places, but mainly in Haddington, by the Scots and French, Thomas Churchyard was one of the English naval force that landed on the coast of Fife for pillage of towns left unprotected because of the drawing away of their strong men to the siege of Haddington. But James Stuart gathered force enough to meet twelve hundred of them at St. Minans, and although the country people fled from the great guns that had been landed, James Stuart rallied his raw troops, attacked the English boldly, and routed them after killing half their force. He took also a hundred prisoners, and one of them was Churchyard, who made himself agreeable, and was so little watched that he was able to escape and join the English garrison besieged in Lauder. The Lauder garrison was almost starved out when it was relieved from its distresses by the peace between English and French, published in Scotland on the first of April, 1550. In the following May the French soldiers sailed back to France, and Churchyard could come back to London.

In August, 1550, Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had, as Lord Deputy for five years at the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, kept Ireland in peace, was sent again, with hope that he could resume, with his office of Deputy, his old office of peacemaker. He had been replaced by Sir Edward Bellingham, when Somerset's endeavour to enforce in Ireland the English way of Church reform had raised an opposition that Sir Anthony had neither will nor power to resist. But now Sir Edward Bellingham was dead, leaving confusion worse confounded. The coinage was so much debased that

money scarcely could pass current in the land. Sir Anthony was sent to restore calm, and Thomas Churchyard went to Ireland with him. There the troops followed their old ways of enriching themselves at the expense of an unhappy people, towards whom Sir Anthony St. Leger was labouring to be generous and just. Considering how great was the distress of Ireland at that time, Thomas Churchyard's note of his money-making, when he had been put in office there by a Lord Deputy of high integrity, is somewhat suggestive. After his services in Scotland, Churchyard says in his "Tragical Discourse of an Unhappy Man's Life,"

> "From thence I came to England as I might,
> And after that to Ireland did I sail,
> Where Sentlyger, a wise and noble knight,
> Gave me such place as was to mine avail.
> Then testers walked as thick as doth the hail
> About the world: for lo, from thence I bore,
> For service done, of money right good store."

Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled in the early summer of 1551, and probably it was during Churchyard's stay in London after his recall that he went to the war of pen and ink with Camell over "Davie Dycar's Dream."

Many of Churchyard's publications were of a few leaves only, some were broadsides. There were only three leaves in what may have been his earliest printed piece, "A Myrrour for man where in he shall see the myserable State of thys worlde," which was printed, without date, by Robert Toye, at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard, and as it ends with "Finis quod Thomas Churchyard. God save the King," must have been printed before the accession of Queen Mary, perhaps in the latter half of the year 1551 or the earlier half of 1552. This may have been the time also of another piece printed without date in King Edward's reign, containing only twenty-eight lines, entitled "Davie

Earliest Publications: "Davie Dycar's Dream."

Dycar's ('Dicar's') Dream." It gave rise to a lively piece of flyting in the way of metrical attack and rejoinder. Thomas Camell, who is not otherwise known in literature, replied with a hundred and forty-two lines of "Camell's Reionder to Churchyard." Churchyard answered on two leaves with

> "A playn and finall confutacion
> Of Cammell's corlyke oblatracion."

That is to say, cur-like barking at the "Dream." Camell replied on two leaves with

> "Camell's conclusion and last farewell then
> To Churchyard and those that defend his 'When.'"

Churchyard followed with a "Surrejoinder." Camell replied with fifty-four lines printed on a sheet within an ornamental border, "To David Dickar's 'When.'" Geffrey Chappell intervened with "A Supplicacion unto Master Cammel" from "Your daily Bedeman at your mandement, Goodman Gefferay Chappell of Whipstable." Thomas Camell then printed another sheet on Goodman Chappell's supplication. Steven Steple followed with a poem of twenty-four lines to Master Camell. Churchyard wrote, in couplet, a hundred and eighteen lines of "Replicacion to Camel's objection," and yet another piece—a poem of thirty-five lines—made its appearance as "Westerne Will. Upon the Debate betwyne Churchyarde and Camell." After the death of King Edward, Churchyard produced in fifteen six-lined stanzas, "An Epitaph upon the Death of Kyng Edward," printed near Holborn Conduit at the sign of the Saracen's Head by John Charlewood and John Tysdale.

In November, 1552, Thomas Churchyard was a soldier of fortune at the siege of Metz, opened by Charles V. in person on the twenty-fourth of that month with forty-five thousand men, who sought to wrest the fortress from the Duke of Guise. The

Again to the Wars.

besiegers suffered from fever, dysentery, and intense frost. The emperor had an attack of gout that nearly killed him. By the end of December the siege was raised, and the emperor was carried to Luxembourg, as men supposed, to die. Gains were made by Churchyard in that adventure, and were freely spent: "For what I gat by spoil I held it mine." Then he went down the Rhine to serve in the Netherlands, and was for a time imprisoned on suspicion, because he had come from France, but he was cleared by fair trial and the help of a fair lady. For three years, he says, he trailed a pike in the wars of Charles V., and then came home again.

That must have been in 1554, for in that year Thomas Churchyard joined the garrison under William Lord Grey of Wilton, then made Governor of Guines. The taking of Guines Castle, on the twentieth of January, 1558, followed a fortnight after the loss of Calais. Except a few chiefs who were prisoners of honour, the eleven hundred men of the garrison, Churchyard being one of them, were allowed to march out with their arms, and each man with a crown in his purse. Churchyard's military service from this time until 1562 was always under William Lord Grey of Wilton. He says that he served under him for eight years, and, as Lord Grey died in 1562, this would place the beginning of the service in 1554, when that lord first went to Guines as Governor. Grey, after the surrender of Guines, remained a prisoner of war until he had paid twenty thousand crowns of ransom. His first service after his return was in December, 1559, when he was sent as Governor to Berwick with two thousand men to reinforce the garrison. Churchyard was one of the two thousand.

He was in London, therefore, from February, 1558, until December, 1559, and he wrote for his friend Baldwin, during this interval of rest from military service, one at least of the tragedies in the "Mirror for Magistrates," first

published in 1559, without his name, but with his name attached in later editions. This told "How the Lord Mowbray, promoted by King Richard the Second to the state of a Duke, was by him banished the Realme the yeare of Christ 1398, and after died miserablie in exile." A second tragedy by Churchyard was added in the second edition, 1563, showing "How Shore's Wife, King Edward the Fourth's Concubine, was by King Richard despoiled of all her goods, and forced to doe open penance." Churchyard's third contribution to the "Mirror for Magistrates" first appeared twenty-four years later, in the edition of 1587. That showed "How Thomas Wolsey did arise unto great authoritie and gouernment, his manner of life, pompe and dignitie, and how he fell downe unto great disgrace, and was arrested of high treason. Anno 1530." These pieces, like nearly all the poems in the "Mirror for Magistrates," were in the seven-lined Chaucer stanza. The tragedy of "Shore's Wife" probably was written soon after the tragedy of "Thomas Mowbray." The tragedy of "Wolsey" may also, possibly, have been work of the same year, long held in reserve because its subject fell into a later part of the series, which aimed at a chronological order. The "Wolsey" may, however, be much later work. In all three tragedies the spirit is, of course, the same, and there is the same ease in the turning of a stanza, with frequent neatness of expression and sometimes a happy line. A sense of music was then common in the land. Strong men of action moralised in verse, and Churchyard was not the only soldier ready with the pike and with the pen.

Churchyard's Part in the "Mirror for Magistrates."

The Tragedies of "Thomas Mowbray," "Shore's Wife," and "Cardinal Wolsey."

THOMAS MOWBRAY, as set forth by Churchyard, shows how he fell because he stained his life with dissembling, envy, and flattery. He was of noble race and had his prince's favour, became Marshal of the

realm, and satisfied the people by giving aid to them in the removal of Richard II.'s evil counsellors. He was chief in the love of king and Commons:

> "But chiefly I with all stood high in grace.
> The King ensued my rede in every case,
> Whence self-love bred: for glory maketh proud,
> And Pride aye seeks alone to be allowed."

Therefore he learned to flatter for his own advantage. He betrayed the trust the Duke of Gloucester put in him, disclosed his counsels to the king, procured the duke's destruction. His pride bred envy of the favour shown to John of Gaunt's son, Bolingbroke. He wore two faces under one hood, encouraged and bewrayed his counsels, was challenged and met Bolingbroke in the lists, where

> "The King, through counsel of the lords, thought good
> To banish both, which judgment straight was rad;
> No marvel, then, though both were wroth and sad,
> But chiefly I, that was exiled for aye,
> My en'my stranged but for a ten years' day."

He found rough quarters among the Germans in his exile, then went to Venice, where he heard

> "the great renown
> Of Bolingbroke, whom I would have put down,
> Was waxed so great in Britain and in France
> That, Venice through, each man did him advance.

> "Thus, lo, his glory grew through great despite,
> And I thereby encreaséd in defame,
> Thus Envy ever doth her most acquite
> With trouble, anguish, sorrow, smart, and shame,
> But sets the virtues of her foe in flame;
> Like water waves which cleanse the muddy stone,
> And soil themselves by beating thereupon."

So Mowbray in his exile pined away and died, showing to men who would take heed by others' harms the end of pride and flattery, reward of envy and complaint.

'SHORE'S WIFE, in Churchyard's poem upon her fall, trusted in Fortune and enjoyed the pleasures of the world. She was married very young against her will, by the compulsion of her friends:

"Compel the hawk to sit that is unmanned,
Or make the hound, untaught, to draw the deer,
Or bring the free against his will in band,
Or move the sad a pleasant tale to hear,
Your time is lost, and you no whit the near:
So love ne learns of force the knot to knit,
She serves but those that feel sweet fancies fit."

She was compelled to consent to her friends, who urged upon her in her girlhood an unwelcome marriage:

"They brake the boughs and shaked the tree by sleight,
And bent the wand that might have grown full straight." *

She was very fair, and kind and honest, till she was unable to resist a royal suitor. But "the ripest wits are soonest thralls to love," and

"The wisest are, with Princes, made but fools."

She used her power to right the poor man's wrong; her hands were free to give where need required. But at the height of worldly fortune there is pain served in the dish:

"The settled mind is free from Fortune's pow
They need not fear who look not up aloft
But they that climb are careful every hour,
For when they fall they light not very soft.
Examples have the wisest warnéd oft
That where the trees the smallest branches bear,
The storms do blow and have most rigour there.

"Where is it strong, but near the ground and root?
Where is it weak but on the highest sprays?
Where may a man so surely set his foot
But on those boughs that groweth low always?
The little twigs are but unstedfast stays:
If they break not, they bend with every blast:
Who trusts to them shall never stand full fast.

* Remembered afterwards by Marlowe in the closing lines of Faustus:

"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
And burnéd is Apollo's laurel bough."

" The wind is great upon the highest hills,
The quiet life is in the dale below;
Who tread on ice shall slide against their wills;
They want not cares that curious arts would know.
Who lives at ease, and can content him so,
Is perfect wise, and sets us all to school;
Who hates this lore may well be called a fool."

King Edward's death left Shore's wife to the cruelty of her chief enemy, his brother Richard, whom her ghost curses at large. He accused her falsely of design to poison him, put her to public shame, and spoiled her goods, and left her bare and poor, and caused her to beg from door to door. When she was homeless and starving, the friends of her prosperity forsook her, and not one holp her that succoured many a man. They frowned on her that fawned on her before, and every man did tread her underfoot. She died, and her ghost calls on maid and wife—

" Beware, take heed, fall not to folly so!
A Mirror make by my great overthrow.
Defy the world and all his wanton ways,
Beware by me that spent so ill her days."

THE TALE OF WOLSEY'S LIFE in Churchyard's poem is treated as a charge to fling away ambition. His ghost tells how he rose to power, pomp, and luxury:

" I waded far, and passéd o'er the ford,
And minded not for to return, I trow.
. . . . . .
" I climbed the clouds by knowledge and good wit,
My men sought chance by service or good luck,
The world walked low when I above did sit,
Or down did come to trample on this muck:
And I did swim as dainty as a duck
When water serves to keep the body brave,
And to enjoy the gifts that Fortune gave."

Shore's wife had not so much power over her king as Wolsey over his. Then comes, with weeping, the remembrance of the sudden fall. In one hour all was lost, and all he gat was nought. His pride and pomp lay in the dust, and the world was glad when the great cardinal himself returned to dust and ashes. So it will do to others:

" But what of that? The best is, we are gone,
And worst of all, when we our tales have told,

"Our open plagues will warning be to none,
Men are by hap and courage made so bold:
They think all is their own they have in hold.
Well, let them say and think what things they please,
This weltering world both flows and ebbs like seas."

When Churchyard moralised in verse the life of Wolsey, it had been very lately told, in a book that remained unprinted, by a gentleman of Wolsey's household, who had loved his master and been faithful to him till the last, but also moralised his fall. The writer of that Life of Wolsey was George Cavendish. He was the elder son of Thomas Cavendish, Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer, who died in 1524, leaving two sons. George was the elder son, born about the year 1500. He was George Cavendish of Glemsford, in Suffolk, and at the age of twenty-seven, or earlier, he entered Wolsey's service, "abandoning," as Wolsey said of him, "his own country, wife and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me." After Wolsey's death, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1530, George Cavendish, about thirty years old, retired to his own estate with a present from Henry VIII. of six cart-horses to carry his furniture to Suffolk, and five marks for his cost homeward; to which there were added ten pounds wages due, and twenty pounds for a reward. So George Cavendish went home to his wife Margery—who was a niece of Sir Thomas More's, and daughter to William Kemp, of Spainhall, in Essex—and he lived at home in peace until his death in 1561 or 1562.

George Cavendish.

George Cavendish's brother William, five years younger, became an officer in the court for augmenting the king's revenue by the sequestration of ecclesiastical property. William Cavendish augmented his own revenue very largely out of the same plunder, became the second of four husbands of Elizabeth Hardwick, built the first house at

Chatsworth, and died in 1557. He left three sons, of whom the second became Earl of Devonshire in 1618, and the third had a son who was created Duke of Newcastle. Along other lines also, the house of William Cavendish became in time a little House of Lords.

George Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

George Cavendish, at Glemsford, quietly wrote what he had seen of Wolsey, and accepted for himself the lesson he conveyed through it to other men, to put away ambition. He wrote his Life of Cardinal Wolsey in the reign of Mary. Since he speaks in it of King Philip as "now our sovereign Lord," he must have written it between the twenty-fifth of July, 1554, and November, 1558. Reference, near the close, to a Mr. Radcliffe as son and heir to the Lord Fitzwalter and now Earl of Sussex, places the writing of the book before the seventeenth of February, 1557, when that Earl of Sussex died. George Cavendish, therefore, in the writing of this book, which is one of the most interesting pieces of biography in English literature, was looking back upon what he had known thirty years before, with the reflection of ripe years to soften all; and he made of it one harmonious picture of the vanity of that ambition through which, perhaps, he had himself partly learnt the blessedness of being little. Old memories of love and duty temper the religious spirit in which Wolsey's faithful servant, grey with years that had slipped by since his master's death, shaped what he had known into a picture of life so single and so true that the direct suggestion to Shakespeare of his play of "King Henry VIII." may have come from the reading of George Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. A Life of Wolsey by one who had no goodwill to the dissolution of the monasteries or respect for Anne Boleyn, could not be printed in Elizabeth's reign. The original manuscript is said to have been in the hands of the Pierrepoint family; but the interest of such a narrative from one who lived in Wolsey's house-

hold, and was an eye-witness of much that he tells, caused a demand for copies. More than a dozen of them are now known, and it is evident that from some one of the manuscript copies in circulation Shakespeare had read Cavendish's Life of Wolsey before he wrote his play of "King Henry VIII."

Thomas Churchyard.

Now we return to Thomas Churchyard, soldier and poet, who was within a year of forty when the first edition appeared of that "Mirror of Magistrates" for which he wrote his tragedies of "Thomas Mowbray," and "Shore's Wife," and "Wolsey." At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Churchyard was for a time in Shrewsbury. His father was dead, his old home was broken up, and his old friends were few. He told his troubles three times to the queen in verse, and got only gracious words. When he told them for the fourth time he got no answer at all.

In March, 1560, Churchyard was with Lord Grey at Berwick, as one of the English army raised to aid in the expelling of the French. In April he marched with that army to the siege of Leith. Peace came through treaties signed on the fifth of July, and in the autumn of 1560 Churchyard was again in London, where he published, in a broadside, fourteen stanzas of "A greater thanks for Churchyard's Welcome Home." He gave some time then to attendance about the Court, and was flattered by fair words that led to nothing. He printed, in 1562, a "Commendation of Music," and, probably about the same time, "The Lamentation of Friendship," in couplets. Then he wrote a "Farewell to Court," and went, at the end of 1564, again as a soldier to Ireland. He served against O'Neil under Sir Henry Sidney, and came back, probably, with Sidney to London, where he printed, upon one sheet, "The Fantasies of a Troubled Man's Head," also "An Epitaph of Captain Randall."

In 1565, Churchyard published the first section of a

collection of his works, under the name of "Churchyard's Chips," which contained only the first fifty-six of the hundred and twenty double pages issued afterwards as "The First Part of Churchyarde's Chippes." "Chips" was a modest and alliterative substitute for the word "Works." Because, he said, "from my head, hand, and pen can flow no far-fetched eloquence, nor sweet sprinkling speeches seasoned with spiced terms, I call my works Churchyard's Chips, the baseness whereof can beguile no man with better opinion than the substance itself does import; and, indeed, if any other title had been given to my trifles than the proper name of Chips, men might have hoped for graver matter than the nature of my verses can produce." Churchyard was a minor poet who dealt with realities, bringing—as many a man then did—his sense of poetry into the work of life, and finding in the work of life the motive to his song. This union of thought with action into a true music of life was one source of the greatness of England under Elizabeth. In the second half of her reign, through which Churchyard lived, the intellectual life rose so high, that few men cared for the old poet who had ploughed his furlong at the foot of the great upward slope.

War in the Netherlands.

In 1566, the long strife of the Netherlands against the Inquisition began. Philip of Spain had enforced maintenance of the Inquisition by edicts against which Catholics and Protestants alike sought to prevail. At the end of the year 1564, Egmont was to be sent to Madrid, and the message he was to deliver was under discussion in the Council of the Regent, Margaret of Parma. William the Silent then spoke at great length, with energetic counsel that the time had come for speaking out. Egmont went, charged with a clear statement of what was due to the well-being of the Netherlands. He was flattered at Madrid, and came back satisfied, but quickly found that he had failed. The King of Spain wrote, and

retracted nothing. Heretics were to be destroyed, though cities might be ruined. Could not a way be found of executing heretics that would deprive them of the opportunity of public glory? And could not that be contrived without lessening their suffering, which his majesty thought "grateful to God and salutary to religion?" A way tried was to bend their heads between their knees, in the solitude of prison, and then kill them by slow suffocation in tubs of water. In 1565, protests were answered by proclaiming of the Inquisition throughout all the Netherlands. By the beginning of the year 1566, thirty thousand Netherlanders had escaped from Philip's tyranny, and were plying their trade peacefully in settlements assigned to them by Queen Elizabeth at Norwich, Sandwich, and elsewhere. Young gentlemen and nobles banded themselves to oppose the Inquisition, by signing that Compromise which was to the Netherlanders what the Covenant was to the Scots. Fifty thousand persons had been put to death in obedience to the edicts of the King of Spain.

On the fifth of April, 1566, two hundred of the confederates brought their petition to the Duchess Margaret in Brussels. "How can your highness fear these beggars?" (*Gueux*) said one to her in the evening, and again, as their procession passed his house, "*Voila nos beaux Gueux.*" There were other attendances upon the Regent before the banquet of three hundred, on the eighth of April, at which the name of "Gueux" was taken up as a convenient party name. They drank to their cause out of the beggar's wooden bowl, assumed the beggar's wallet as a badge, and many a young gentleman afterwards replaced his velvet doublet with coarse cloak of ashen grey. Then men met, armed, by thousands to hear preaching in the fields outside the towns. Outside Antwerp such congregations numbered fifteen, twenty, even sometimes thirty thousand. The magistrates of Antwerp were required to stop the meetings

by their guild militia. They replied that their town force only sufficed to prevent meetings within the town. The duchess had not authority to levy troops, and if she had, her levies would have been outnumbered. The armed congregations could at once fall into rank, and become undisciplined but enthusiastic armies. The magistrates and citizens of Antwerp called upon William of Orange to be their governor. The Regent Margaret herself desired him to accept the call. There was faith on all sides in his loyal spirit.

William repressed the excesses of the Gueux, he left to the Reformers their free worship in the fields, but with a trained force of twelve hundred citizen soldiers he watched against insurrection. The eighteenth of August was the day of a great annual procession of the image of the Virgin, carried through the streets from the cathedral. Riots were expected, and the Prince of Orange remained in the town. The image was reviled. Riot began in the cathedral itself, stirred by quarrel about an old woman who sold tapers and wafers at the door. This grew to a wild violence of image-breaking. The painted windows were broken, the great church was wrecked. Wrecking of churches spread from town to country. This was the time when Thomas Churchyard served in Antwerp. He offered his service to the Prince of Orange, who, he says,

> "Bade me do well and shed no guiltless blood,
> And save from spoil poor people and their good."

Churchyard mixed with the insurgents, let them place him at their head, and used his influence upon them to save the religious houses and the town. But he himself became suspected. In danger from both sides, he escaped in a priest's dress into Zeeland, and took ship at the end of the year 1566 from Sluys to England. Then he printed "A ballet intituled admonition agaynste diceplaye."

From this time Churchyard's main interest was in the course of events in the Netherlands. Three years later, in a letter to Cecil, he said, "My mind gives me that I shall never die till I hear and see the Gospel advanced to the uttermost." He lived to the age of eighty-four.

In 1567 the strife rose to war. The King of Spain had resolved on armed invasion of the Netherlands. William of Orange withdrew, in April, to his family seat of Dillenburg, in Germany, some forty miles from Nassau. By August the Duke of Alva was established in the Netherlands as captain-general, with a Spanish army at his back. On the ninth of September the Counts Egmont and Horn were treacherously seized and lodged in prison, and immediately afterwards Alva set up that Council of Troubles which held its first session on the twentieth of September, and is remembered as the Council of Blood. During the troubles of 1567 Churchyard was sent to Dillenburg by the Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain of England. He enlisted under Count de la March as cornet to two hundred and fifty light horsemen in the army of the Prince of Orange, now opposing war to war. Nothing had been achieved when the forces of the Prince of Orange marched to winter quarters about Strasburg, and Thomas Churchyard then returned to England.

In 1568, through many perils, Churchyard found his way back to the army of William of Orange, and when he would return, after the withdrawal of the prince's army into France, he reached his home with much difficulty. He was robbed of his horse and equipments by banditti, walked sixty miles across a hostile country, and at last found a vessel that took him to Guernsey, whence he returned to London early in the next year, 1569. He showed himself at Court, and went to Bath, where he was detained by fever and ague. To this time may belong an undated broadside of nine stanzas entitled

" A Farewell cauld Churcheyeard's rounde
From the Courte to the country grownd."

In November, 1569, there was insurrection of Roman Catholics in the north of England, the unhappy rising in which "the banner of the five wounds" was borne by Norton of Rylstone, who lives with his eight sons in the verse of Wordsworth. Then Thomas Churchyard printed "A Discourse of Rebellion, drawn forth for to warn the wanton Wits how to keep their heads on their shoulders." He published, also, in 1570, "The Epitaph of the Honourable Earl of Pembroke . . . who died Lord Steward of the Queen's Majesty's Household, and of her Privy Council."

Insurrection in England.

Churchyard served again for some months in the Netherlands with English stipendiaries, under Captain Morgan. In 1572 he took part—and so did Gascoigne—in the unsuccessful siege of Ter-Goes. He was wounded and made prisoner. Tried by the Spaniards as a spy, he was condemned to death, but on the day named for his execution saved by the intervention of a noble lady, and sent away with money in his purse. Immediately afterwards he was with English volunteers defending Zutphen, which was taken in November, 1572, by the son of Alva. This ended Thomas Churchyard's military service, at the age of about fifty-two.

In August, 1574, Queen Elizabeth made a progress to Bristol, and the last piece in the edition of his Works or "Chips" published in 1575 was of "the whole order how our Sovereign Lady was received in Bristowe, and the speeches spoken before her presence, at her entry, with the residue of the verses, and matter that might not be spoken for distance of the place." Herein Churchyard made Fame, at the High Cross, address her majesty in septenars, whereby he

Churchyard's "Chips."

" Salutes the Queen of rare renown whose goodly gifts divine
Through earth and air with glory great shall pass this trump of mine."

Near the queen's lodging stood Salutation, Gratulation, and Obedient Goodwill, with Churchyard's verses of welcome, which he seems to have been commissioned to write by the captain of the Queen's Guard, a good friend of the poet's, to whom the work was dedicated as "Mister Christopher Hatton, Esquier." Hatton was not knighted until December, 1578.

The "Chippes" published in 1575 as a quarto in black letter by Thomas Marshe, in Fleet Street, near St. Dunstan's Church, contained these twelve pieces:—"The Siege of Leith"; "A Farewell to the World"; "A feigned Fancy of the Spider and the Gout"; "A doleful Discourse of a Lady and a Knight"; "The Rode into Scotland by Sir William Drury, knight" (in prose); "Sir Symond Burley's Tragedy"; "A Tragical Discourse of the Unhappy Man's Life" (the unhappy man being Churchyard himself); "A Discourse of Virtue"; "Churchyard's Dream"; "A Tale of a Friar and a Shoemaker's Wife"; "The Siege of Edinburgh Castle"; "The whole Order of the receiving of the Queen's Majesty into Bristowe." There was another edition of this "First Part of Churchyardes Chippes contayninge twelve several Labours, deuised and published onlye by Thomas Churchyard, Gentilman," issued by Thomas Marshe in 1578.

Churchyard was at this time an industrious writer. In the year 1578 he also published "A Lamentable and pitifull Description of the wofull warres in Flaunders, since the foure last yeares of the Emperor Charles the Fifth his raigne. With a briefe rehearsall of many things done since that season, Vntill this present yeare, and death of Don Iohn." On the tenth of May in the same year, Churchyard showed his interest in the adventures of the early Elizabethan voyagers by sea, who are named in his "Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita (A name giuen by

The Woeful Wars in Flanders.

a mightie and most great Personage) in which praise and reporte is written diuers discourses neuer published by any man as yet. Now spoken of by Thomas Churchyarde, Gentleman, and dedicated to the right honorable M. Secretarie Wilson, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honorable privie Counsell."

Frobisher's Voyage.

In 1579, Churchyard was very active with his pen, and still more active in 1580, when he had reached the age of sixty, and had twenty-four more years to live. We leave him, therefore, very busy; for this book of our history does not pass beyond the year 1579, when Elizabeth's reign of forty-four years and four months completed its twenty-first year, and so came of age. In 1579 Andrew Maunsell, at the sign of the Parrot in St. Paul's Churchyard, who had published Churchyard's "Praise and Report" of Frobisher, published also on twenty-one leaves Churchyard's book of "The Miserie of Flavnders, Calamitie of Fraunce, Misfortune of Portugall, Vnquietnes of Irelande, Troubles of Scotlande: And the blessed State of Englande," dedicated to the queen. Edward White, also, at the sign of the Gun, by the little north door of Paul's Church, published in 1579, designed as a continuation of the "Chips," Churchyard's "General rehearsall of warres, wherein is fiue hundred seuerall seruices of land and sea; as sieges, battailles, skirmiches, and encovnters. A praise and true honour of soldiours; A proofe of perfite nobilitie. —A triall and first erection of Heraldes: A discourse of Calamitie. And ioyned to the same some Tragedies and Epitaphes, as many as was necessarie for this firste booke. All whiche woorkes are dedicated to the right honourable Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, Vize Chamberlain, Capitain of the gard: and one of the Queenes maiesties priuie Counsail." Hatton's patronage was valuable, for there was no man then in higher favour with the queen. Churchyard owed also to the goodwill of Sir Christopher Hatton a

Other "Chips."

commission to devise shows at Norwich, which he described that year, in a "Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk. . . . Whervnto is adioyned a Commendation of Sir Humfrey Gilberts ventrous iourney." This book, in forty-two leaves, was "Imprinted by Henry Bynneman," who is described as "seruante to the right hon. Sir Chr. Hatton, Vizchamberlayne."

George Gascoigne is another of the English gentlemen who fought and sang in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, giving his life, as his chosen motto said of him, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio.* But he knew less of Mars than Churchyard—more of Mercury. George Gascoigne.

If Churchyard was the older soldier, Gascoigne was the better poet. He was the eldest son of Sir John Gascoigne of Cardington, in Bedfordshire, whose wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Scargill, was kinswoman to Sir Martin Frobisher. A reference of his to "such English as I stale in Westmorland" suggests that Gascoigne may have had in Westmorland his early teaching. He studied for a time at Trinity College, Cambridge, left the university without having graduated, entered to the Middle Temple, and in 1555 was admitted an ancient of Gray's Inn. In his youth he scattered money and wrote verse. He sat in Parliament as member for Bedford from 1557 to 1559. In 1562, Gascoigne began to shape one of his poems in the way described by him when dedicating it as a published work to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, in April, 1575: "Twelve or thirteen years past I had begun an Elegy or sorrowful song called 'The Complaint of Philomene,' the which I began to devise riding by the highway between Chelmsford and London and being overtaken with a sudden dash of rain I changed my copy, and struck over into the *De Profundis*, which is placed among my other Poesies, leaving 'The Complaint of Philomene' unfinished, and so it hath continued ever since until this present month of April, 1575, when

I began my 'Steel Glass.'" The version of the Psalm *De Profundis* was printed in Gascoigne's first book, published in 1572 as "A Hundreth sundrie Floures bound up in one small Poesie," and the Psalm is there introduced with lines referring to the rain-shower from which it sprang. This shaping of verse as he rode, retaining it in memory, and writing it down when he had reached his journey's end, Gascoigne especially refers to when he explains the title of another piece of work included among the "Hundred sundry Flowers," with the name of "Gascoigne's Memories": "He had in midst of his youth determined to abandon all vain delights, and to return unto Gray's Inn, there to undertake again the study of the Common Laws. And being required by five sundry gentlemen to write in verse somewhat worthy to be remembered before he entered into their fellowship, he compiled five sundry sorts of metre upon five sundry themes which they delivered unto him, and the first was at the request of Francis Kinwelmarsh, who delivered him this theme, *Audaces Fortuna juvat.*" The sonnet written upon this theme is in three stanzas, independently constructed of alternate rhyme, and a closing couplet. "The next was at the request of Antony Kinwelmarsh, who delivered him this theme, *Satis sufficit*, and thereupon he wrote" eight seven-lined Chaucer stanzas. "John Vaughan delivered him this theme, *Magnum vectigal parsimonia*," whereupon he wrote a piece of ten-syllabled iambic lines rhyming in fives, *a b c b c a.* "Alexander Nevile delivered him this theme, *sat cito, si sat bene*," whereupon he compiled seven sonnets, constructed in the same manner as that written for Francis Kinwelmarsh. "Richard Courtop, the last of the five, gave him the theme, *Durum æneum et miserabile ævum*, and thereupon he wrote" a piece in Alexandrine couplets. "And thus an end of these five themes, amounting to the number of cclviii verses, devised riding by the way, writing none of them until he came at the

end of his journey, the which was no longer than one day in riding, one day in tarrying with his friend, and the third in returning to Gray's Inn; and therefore called Gascoigne's Memories."

In 1566, two plays by George Gascoigne were acted in the hall of Gray's Inn. One was a translation into English prose of one of the earliest Italian comedies, produced at Ferrara, "I Suppositi," one of the five comedies written by Ariosto. The other play of Gascoigne's was a tragedy, "Jocasta," taken, not from the "Phœnissæ" of Euripides, but also from an Italian original, the "Giocasta" of Lodovico Dolce, printed by Paul son of Aldus Manutius, at Venice in 1549.

Ariosto meant by his "I Suppositi"*—according to both an Italian and Latin sense of the word—persons put in place of one another, the Substitutes; and this sense is so far from being suggested by Gascoigne's title, "The Supposes," that he sprinkles the margin of his text with a few indications of supposings of the common kind that can be got out of the story. This is Gascoigne's prologue, based on Ariosto's—

"I suppose you are assembled here, supposing to reap the fruit of my travails; and, to be plain, I mean presently to present you with a comedy called SUPPOSES; the very name whereof may, peradventure, drive into every of your heads a sundry suppose, to suppose the meaning of our Supposes. Some, percase, will suppose we mean to occupy your ears with sophistical handling of subtle suppositions; some other will suppose we go about to decipher unto you some quaint conceits, which hitherto have been only supposed as it were in shadows; and some I see smiling, as though they supposed we would trouble you with the vain suppose of some wanton suppose. But understand, this our suppose is nothing else but a mistaking or imagination of one thing for another: for you shall see the master supposed for the servant, the

* "Questa supposizion nostra significa
Quel che in volgar si dice porre in cambio."
—*Ariosto's Prologue.*

servant for the master, the freeman for a slave, and the bond-slave for a freeman, the stranger for a well-known friend, and the familiar for a stranger. But what? I suppose that even already you suppose me very fond that have so simply disclosed unto you the subtleties of these our supposes; where, otherwise, indeed, I suppose, you should have heard almost the last of our supposes, before you could have supposed any of them aright. Let this then suffice."

Gascoigne's translation is a free and lively one, from Ariosto's unrhymed verse into prose, and it is the first English prose comedy in our literature. The descent from the Latin drama is still clearly marked. In the prologue to the edition of his "Suppositi" published at Venice in 1525, Ariosto pointed out that he framed his story from "The Eunuch" of Terence and "The Captives" of Plautus.

In George Gascoigne's prose translation of "I Suppositi" there is often a rudeness of style that contrasts unfavourably with the grace of the original. But although in most of our earliest plays the art was obviously imperfect, there was the vigour in them of a sound mind, with worthiness of purpose that would lead in after years to higher things. With all the grace of Ariosto's comedy, the plot included a relation between Polynesta and the feigned servant which, by the manner of its treatment, reflected a low tone of morality; and although it gave more reason for the anger and grief of the father and the giving up of his suit by Cleander, it was, on the whole, a needless degradation of the two chief characters. George Gascoigne reproduced it, but it was foreign to the nature of an English play. The bitterest opponents of the stage under Elizabeth admitted that the plays were very honest, and had healthy aims.

The "Jocasta"—which is not by Gascoigne only, but by Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh—is a translation from the Italian of a then living poet (he died in 1569*)

* Lodovico Dolce, born at Venice in 1508, was in Gascoigne's time a favourite Italian writer who shaped epic tales out of the Spanish

Lodovico Dolce, whose free version of Euripides is exactly followed, including the lyric chorus, which, in the manner of Seneca, is used for the closing of each act. When the chorus speaks with actors in the course of the play, it is in the blank verse used for all the dialogue. The second, third, and fifth acts were translated by George Gascoigne, the first and fourth by Francis Kinwelmarsh. A dumb show was planned to introduce each act, as in "Gorboduc," and this was invented by the English translators to suit the requirements of the Gray's Inn Festival. There was no precedent for that in Lodovico Dolce. There was also an original Epilogue, written for the piece by Christopher Yelverton. The blank verse of the play is not wanting in dignity, and it replaces throughout the dialogue various measures that are used in the Italian original, in nearer imitation of the Greek. Like "Gorboduc," "Jocasta" is a tale of ruin caused by discord between brothers. Eteocles and Polynices take the places of Ferrex and Porrex, and the verse, charged with wise maxims as in "Gorboduc," enforces the evil of ambition that leads men to set their private gains above the public good.

It seems to have been in 1567 that Gascoigne, impoverished by waste among the wits and courtiers — perhaps, also, disinherited by his father — married the widow of William Breton. Gascoigne's year of service in the wars began in the spring of 1572. He was then tempted by strong fellow-feeling with the struggle against Spain in the Netherlands to enlist as a volunteer under William of Orange. There was a turn in the tide of William's fortune. The revolt against Alva had increased in strength, through

romances — "*Prime imprese di Orlando*," "*Palmerin di Oliva*," "*Primaleone figliuolo del re Palmerino*"—wrote comedies, moral dialogues, the tragedy of "Marianna," and founded on the Iliad and Æneid his "*Achille ed Enea*," in fifty-six cantos, and on the Odyssey his "*Ulisse*," in twenty cantos.

his endeavour to enforce the tax of a tenth upon all moneys taken in trade. Shops were closed. Bread and meat could not be bought, and Alva had the hangman ready to string up some of the rebellious tradesmen over their shop-doors, when news came to him of the sudden capture of Briell by William de la Marck with the two dozen privateering vessels under his command. These "Beggars of the Sea" had hitherto been dangerous only to the ships of Spain Queen Elizabeth, a friendly sovereign—about whose murder Philip II. was privately busying himself in 1571—had been asked to withdraw support from these adventurers, and had forbidden the supply to them of necessaries on the English coast. That sent them to their own coast, and their taking of Briell was not less a surprise to themselves than to the garrison. It was the work of an April Fool's Day, when Briell, in 1572, was the first place in Holland to win independence. A Spanish force, sent to recover the place, failed; on the way back it entered Rotterdam by help of a lie, and there committed many murders. Flushing cast off Spanish rule and declared for William of Orange; while there came at this time to the Isle of Walcheren a band of English volunteers, among whom was George Gascoigne. He embarked at Gravesend on the nineteenth of March, 1572.

A poem addressed by Gascoigne to his patron, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, describes his "Voyage into Holland." It mainly tells how the ship was run aground by the stupidity or treachery of a Dutch pilot, when bound for Briell. Their course seems to show that Gascoigne and his English comrades were joining in the work of the adventurers who took Briell on the first of April. But De la Marck, who remained unshaven till he had avenged the blood of his kinsman Egmont, and William de Blois, Seigneur de Treslong, who had a brother's death to avenge, with other leaders of the Beggars of the Sea, left Dover a few days later in March than the nineteenth, and their first

design was upon Enkhuizen. Change of wind took them—and, perhaps, Gascoigne's vessel too—to the mouth of the Meuse, where Briell lies on one promontory. Gascoigne's poem on the voyage tells how his ship was wrecked, rudderless, with its keel staved in. He and two English comrades, Rowland Yorke and another, worked at the pumps, avoiding the overloaded boat in which twenty, who sought to escape together, were all drowned. The wind changed, and the sinking ship was blown to sea. No help came, though the ship was foundering within sight of the pier of Briell, with many looking on, until some English on the pier compelled a rescue. But the pilot contrived to get away by himself, with the other men's best clothes and all the ammunition. The poem that tells this is no more than a metrical letter from Gascoigne to his friend and patron.

Another poem, addressed also to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, is of some length and of higher aim. It is one of the best of Gascoigne's poems, and includes incidentally a sketch of his adventures in the Netherlands. Written in the midst of an inevitable war for independence, it sets forth the truth that war is evil in itself, and always born of evil. It is a poet's moralising on a saying found by Gascoigne in the Adages of Erasmus, and of which Erasmus also had enforced the truth,

"*Dulce Bellum Inexpertis.*"

This poem on "The Fruits of War," begun at Delft, is in 208 Chaucer stanzas, with an "Envoi." Gascoigne will tell

> "what race they run
> Who follow drums before they know the dub,
> And brag of Mars before they feel his club."

After showing how poets, astronomers, and painters have represented Mars as God of War, he turns to the common voice of the people. They say

> "That Princes' pride is cause of war alway:
> Plenty brings pride; pride, plea; plea, pine; pine, peace;
> Peace, plenty, and so, say they, they never cease."

But, whatever men say, there is no reason

> "To think *Vox Populi vox Dei est.*
> As for my skill, I count him but a beast
> Which trusteth truth to dwell in common speech,
> Where every lurdain will become a leech."

Then what is War? It is the Scourge of God.

How, then, can men rejoice in war, and scorn the quiet burgher who lives at ease, contented with his own, while they seek more and yet are overthrown. If War be really the Scourge of God, men should account it grief to feel the burden of God's mighty hand. Princes, nobles, prelates, lawyers, merchants, husbandmen, and all the commonalty, should deal justly and avert the scourge:

> "Knew kings and princes what a pain it were
> To win mo realms than any wit can wield,
> To pine in hope, to fret as fast for fear,
> To see their subjects murdered in the field;
> To lose at last, and then themselves to yield;
> To break sound sleep with cark and inward care:
> They would love peace, and bid war well to fare."

So of the other orders of society in other stanzas, where the state of social war is treated as one with the war of pike and gun. As for the common people, if they knew the end of "lashing out at law," they

> "Would never grease the greedy sergeants' paw,
> But sit at home and learn this old-said saw—
> *Had I revenged been of every harm,*
> *My coat had never kept me half so warm.*"

But whither now? When I would only show "how sweet war is to such as know it not," I have counted as of the nature of war all strife, all quarrels, contests, and all cruel jars, oppressions, briberies, and all greedy life, whereby my theme is stretched beyond the stars. But the higher the hawk flies, the truer stoop she makes. Then war is bad, and so it is indeed, yet are there three sorts who therein take delight—Haughty Heart, Greedy Mind, and Misery—the Miser not meaning the man who starves his mule for grudge of meat, but the unthrift or the prater who seeks war as a forlorn hope and escapes the catchpole, the felon who seeks pence while escaping from the hangman.

The Haughty Heart is attended by three sparks who inflame his blood and urge him into war—Desire of Fame, Disdain of Idleness,

and Hope of Honour. O noble mind, to have so hard a hap! A sweet perfume to fall into a sink; a costly jewel in a swelling wave! Honour is sought where treason, malice, and more mischiefs hinder it, and where blood of the innocent cries up to God. Fortune is fickle, but the Haughty Heart cares not for that:

> "And fie, saith he, for goods or filthy gain!
> I gape for glory: all the rest is vain.
>
> "Vain is the rest, and that most vain of all,
> A smouldering smoke which flieth with every wind,
> A tickle treasure, like a trendling ball,
> A passing pleasure mocking but the mind,
> A fickle fee as fancy well can find,
> A summer's fruit, which long can never last,
> But ripeneth soon, and rots again as fast."

Look at the end of Cæsar, Pompey, and the bold, brave Bourbon. But if glory were sought through Philosophy, without a bruise of war,

> "Yet had your name been blazed, and you been blest:
> Ask Aristotle if I speak amiss,
> Few Soldiers' fame can greater be than his."

Or if it were sought through Rhetoric:

> "Such glory, lo, did Cicero attain,
> Which longer lasts than other glories vain."

Or Physic, witness Avicenna; or Astronomy, Music, Geometry, Arithmetic.

Next Greedy Mind, whose eye is bleared by More-would-have, is dealt with as having an ill-founded delight in war. Does he not see how lawyers, merchants, graziers, clothiers, butchers, tanners, shoemakers, haberdashers, barbers, make their gains in peace?

> "The cooper's house is heeled by hooping vats,
> The rogue rubs out by poisoning of rats,
> The channel-raker liveth by his fee,
> Yet count I them more worthy praise than thee.
>
> "To rake up riches evermore by wrong,
> To multiply by moving of mischief,
> To live by spoil which seldom lasteth long,
> To hoard up heaps while others lack relief,
> To win all wealth by playing of the thief,

Is not so good a gain, I dare avow,
As his that lives by toiling at the plow."

When the solder has crammed his purse with crowns, and escaped from the field, his own companions may contrive a means to cut his throat and rinse his budget clean.

When Miser has been dealt with, Gascoigne's poem treats of Hope as the cupbearer to mighty War. But what right has this poet to speak? Has he experience? Yes. Then comes the sketch of what Gascoigne himself saw of war, that brought him to say War

"Is sweet: but how? Bear well my words away—
Forsooth, to such as never did it try.
This is my theme: I cannot change it, I."

Then follows a Peroration to the noble queen

"whose high foresight provides
That waste of war your realms doth not destroy,"

guarding himself against suspicion of including the great nobles, prelates, lawyers of his country among men of haughty heart and greedy mind. Many he names with honour, and some merchants too:

"But, to conclude, I mean no more but thus;
In all estates some one may tread awry,
And he that lists my verses to discuss
Shall see I meant no more but modestly
To warn the wise that they such faults do fly
As put down Peace by covine or debate,
Since War and Strife bring wo to every State."

So thought Elizabeth, and in 1582, when the story of her reign, so far, was told by Christopher Ocland, head master of Cheltenham School, in a school book of Latin verses for the English boys to learn by heart, the burden of the story was that in her days there was rest from war. In this little volume, the first sketch of English history, from 1327 to 1558, was entitled "Anglorum Prœlia," and it was followed, for Elizabethan history, by "Ειρηναρχια, *sive Elizabetha. De Pacatissimo Angliæ statu, imperante Elizabetha, compendiosa Narratio.*"

Gascoigne's incidental record of his own experience deals mainly with service in and near the Isle of Walcheren. He was one of a little force that for seven days protected the small unwalled town of Aardenburg, four miles from Sluys, and saved it from attack. He was, like Churchyard, in the trenches before Ter-Goes, or Goes, a fortified town on the island of South Beveland, held by Spaniards. Siege was laid on the twenty-sixth of August, 1572, by Jerome de't Zeraerts. The fortress held or lost by Spain, meant holding or losing Zeeland. The patriots were masters of the sea, and the Spanish ships were unable to relieve the garrison. Then came the bold midnight adventure of the twentieth of October, when, on the suggestion of Captain Plomaert—who, with two peasants, had twice proved that it could be done—the old Spanish colonel, Mondragon, had gathered a force of three thousand picked men to march by night, at low tide, nearly ten miles through the sea, on the submerged ground that separated South Beveland from the mainland. With Plomaert and the two villagers as guides, who had found a track, old Mondragon plunged in first. His men followed, each with biscuit and powder in a sack upon his head. The men crossed almost in single file, in water often up to their necks, never below their breasts. Through the treacherous mud on which they trod there ran three streams too deep to be fordable, except at places which Plomaert had found. The start was made a little after the half tide. If anything delayed their crossing beyond six hours, the next tide would rise above their heads, and they would all be drowned. They crossed with the loss of only nine men. They lighted signal fires expected by the garrison, and their sudden appearance struck such panic into the besieging force that the patriots all fled to the ships, the Spaniards slaughtering the rear guard before those in advance had fully got on board. "Since that siege raised," said Gascoigne,

"I roaméd have about
In Zeeland, Holland, Waterland and all.
. . . . . .
Where good Guyllam of Nassau bade me be
There needed I none other guide but he."

Flushing had followed Briell in throwing off the yoke of Spain, and used its freedom with much cruelty against Catholics and Spaniards; for resentment of the cruelties of Alva, and the lowering of human life by a familiar use of the brutalities of war, had maddened many into deeds of shameful violence. William of Orange himself sought nobly to repress all wrong and violence among his followers, that stained their sacred cause. Gascoigne served at Flushing ten days in the trenches before the fort of Rammekens, where there was a Spanish garrison to be starved out. In ten days it surrendered. Then Gascoigne served by sea and land by night and day, to prevent Mondragon from bringing supplies to the besieged garrison in Middleburg. When the Governor of Middleburg fled and was replaced by Mondragon, says Gascoigne, "like a soldier Middleburg he kept." Then there was lull in the war. Gascoigne had quarrelled with his colonel, and thought of coming home to England, but resolved that he would first seek William of Orange, who was at Delft, and tell his case to him. He went to Delft, therefore, asked for leave of absence until Christmas, and had it granted. Gascoigne's passport was made out, when his colonel also came to Court, and William tried ineffectually to restore goodwill between colonel and captain.

But the Spanish forces gathered about Delft, and Gascoigne could not leave the prince whose character he honoured, and to whose good cause he gave his heart. He remained as volunteer, attached to no command. A lady at the Hague sent word to him that he should have his portrait, which was in her keeping, if he would come for it. The letter, with safe-conduct from the enemy's camp,

was examined at the gates of Delft, and brought Gascoigne into suspicion. He cleared himself by simple openness of dealing, and he received from William a passport to the Hague, which he described as, to his thinking, "the pleasantest village that is in Europe."

Middleburg remained invested until Mondragon's honourable surrender on the eighteenth of February, 1574. George Gascoigne served in the siege when the Prince of Orange was present, and showed his zeal at sea against the ships of the Spaniards. He dined in the town the day before the twenty-first of February, on which day Mondragon left it, and the Prince of Orange recognised his services with a gift of three hundred guilders beyond his pay. This enabled him to clear all debts.

New volunteers came over from England under Colonel Chester. William of Orange gave Gascoigne an ensign's charge among them, and his first service was, with five hundred men to hold a fort of which the building was newly begun, at Valkenburg, in Dutch Limburg, not far from Leyden. At Alphen, seven miles on the other side of Leyden, was another garrison, ten miles from Valkenburg. Alphen was taken by the Spaniards, and it was clear that Valkenburg could not be held. Its garrison retired on Leyden, facing the enemy, and killing fifty of them with loss to themselves of only three. But suspicious Leyden closed its gates against the Englishmen. Then Gascoigne and Captain Sheffield treated for terms of surrender with the two Spanish chiefs, Loques and Mario. Good terms were made. The common soldiers were free to depart after twelve days' detention. With officers there was the question of ransom. Gascoigne and his fellow officers were kept four months as prisoners on parole, in kindliest restraint—

> "To eat and drink at barons' board always,
> To lie on down, to banquet with the best,
> To have all things at every just request,

To borrow coin when any seemed to lack,
To have his own away with him to pack."

This consideration Gascoigne said they owed to the desire of the Spaniards to remain friends with the Queen of England till their wars had prospered in the Netherlands; but also he praised highly the generous spirit and the unstained faith of Loques. After a detention of about four months, Gascoigne was set free and returned to England. This was his whole experience of war.

George Gascoigne came home, then, in the latter part of the year 1574, and settled down in his "poor house at Walthamstow," from which he proceeded to date work with the pen, and where he had a wife and a son, William, who both survived him. His wife was the widow of William Breton, who left her and his five children, two sons and three daughters, well provided for, and the use to her of her children's shares in the property until each of them reached the age of twenty-two. The widow's share went after her death to the children of the first marriage, and George Gascoigne had only the use of his wife's life interest in a large city house and garden in Red Cross Street, where a gardener was kept, and in the country house at Walthamstow, with other property in Essex. William Breton had so far shut out the idea of his wife's second marriage that after she had married George Gascoigne a legal suit arose, in October, 1568, to protect William Breton's property in the interest of the children against loss through his widow's second marriage. The suit seems to have been settled amicably. The younger of George Gascoigne's two step-sons by this marriage was Nicholas Breton, a poet of whose place in literature we shall hereafter speak. When Gascoigne returned from the Netherlands, in 1574, Nicholas Breton was about twenty-eight years old, but he printed nothing before 1577, in which year George Gascoigne died, on the seventh of October.

George Gascoigne's activity in publication of his poems is almost confined to the three years before his death. While he was away in the Low Countries there was publication by friends, not without his privity, of a collection of his poems, without his name, and with a title page that might lead readers to suppose it a miscellany of work from different hands. It was called "A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bound vp in one small Poesie. Gathered partely (by translation) in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ouid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others: and partly by inuention, out of our owne fruitefull Orchardes in Englande; yelding sundrie sweete sauours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, both pleasaunte and profitable to the well-smellyng noses of learned Readers." This was really a collection of Gascoigne's works, which he set himself after his return from the wars to revise carefully. Among his smaller poems, "The Lullaby," Gascoigne's "Good Morrow" and "Good Night," the "*De Profundis*," "The Passion," "The Divorce," and "The Recantation of a Lover," had been set to music. His revised edition was published in February, 1575. The "Posie" was said to contain "Flowers," "Herbs," and "Weeds." There is a long poem, written in the Netherlands, of "Dan Bartholomew of Bath," whose restless state through love is told in divers measures, his triumphs and his dumps, his care and his farewell, and his return to bondage. The collection included "The Supposes" and "Jocasta" and "The Fruits of War"; also, in prose, "The pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Ieronimi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello."

"A Hundreth sundrie Flowres."

Having published his "Posie" in February, 1575, in the following April Gascoigne began to write his satire, "The Steel Glass." He continued also his "Complaint of Philomene," begun in April, 1562, and wrote a poem of fifty-eight

lines "in the Commendation of the Noble Arte of Venerie," to be prefixed to George Turbervile's "Book of Faulconrie or Hawking." On the twenty-sixth of the same month of April, 1575, George Gascoigne wrote the dedication to his kinsman, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, which was prefixed to some copies of his publication of "'The Glasse of Gouernement.' A tragicall Comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled as well the rewardes for Vertues as also the punishment for Vices." It is a didactic piece, arranged with characters and dialogue as a comedy, with two summaries of doctrine introduced in verse into the third act, and a metrical chorus closing each act except the fifth, which has in place of chorus a metrical epilogue. In this comedy, two fathers of Antwerp are close friends. Each has a couple of sons, the one twenty, the other nineteen years old. They agree to educate their sons together, and so continue between them the friendship of their fathers. To prepare them for the university, they are placed under a grave tutor, Gnomaticus, whose instruction upon the duties of life and the right use of time is given at great length. Each of the elder brothers, Philautus and Philosarchus, is quick at remembering; each of the younger brothers, Philomusus and Philotimus, digests slowly. The elder brothers make acquaintance with dishonest women and their following. At the close of the third act, each of the younger brothers has digested his teacher's counsel into music, each showing his results to the other in sets of shapely verse, alike in matter, different in measure. But the elder brothers have been writing only idle rhymes to Lamia. Then their fathers send all four to the University of Douay, where the elder brothers follow the lead of dishonest servants, and the younger come to honour. One of the younger brothers, become, by recommendation of the university, secretary to the Palsgrave, tries in vain to save his elder brother, whom he

"The Glass of Government."

sees hanged for a theft. The other younger brother, become a famous preacher in Geneva, cannot save his elder brother from being, for fornication, whipped about the town on three several market days, after which he is last heard of in a village, dying of his bruises.

In July of the same year, 1575, Gascoigne was commissioned by the Earl of Leicester to devise one or two masques, &c., for the queen's entertainment at Kenilworth. These were printed next year as "The Princelye pleasures at the Courte at Kenelworth," with a letter by R. Laneham, dated the twentieth of August, 1575, which completes the record of her Majesty's reception. The writers of the entertainments were William Hunnis, John Badger (M.A. 1555), Bedal of the University of Oxford, George Ferrars, Richard Mulcaster (some Latin verse), and Gascoigne. In September of that year Gascoigne greeted her Majesty at Woodstock with the "Tale of Hemetes the Hermit," afterwards carefully written by himself in four languages—English, Latin, Italian, French (he knew also Dutch)—and presented to her as a New Year's gift, with a frontispiece picture of Gascoigne on one knee, with a pen behind his ear, in the act of presenting his book to her Majesty. The painter hung in air over the poet's head a laurel crown. Gascoigne wrote here, in an address to the queen, that he had poured forth "such Italian as I have learned in London, and such Latin as I forgat at Cambridge, such French as I borrowed in Holland, and such English as I stale in Westmoreland." Any short visit to Westmorland would justify the use of such a phrase in such a context, where the design is to express modestly the absence of scholarship, while aiming at some evidence of his fitness for employment. For in this address he asks to be employed. He is no longer, he says, the idle poet, "but Gascoigne the satirical writer, meditating the Muse that may express his

Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth.

"Hemetes the Hermit."

reformation. Forget, most excellent Lady, the poesies which I have scattered in the world, and I vow to write volumes of profitable poems whereby your Majesty may be pleased. Only employ me, good Queen, and I trust to be proved as diligent as Clearchus, as resolute as Mutius, and as faithful as Curtius. Your Majesty shall ever find me with a pen in my right hand, and a sharp sword girt to my left side, *in utramque paratus*, as glad to go forwards when any occasion of your service may drive me, as willing to attend your person in any calling that you shall please to appoint me. My vaunting vein being now pretty well breathed, and mine arrogant speeches almost spent, let me most humbly beseech your Highness that you vouchsafe to pardon my boldness, and deign to accept this my simple New Year's Gift."

Gascoigne, the satirical writer, meditating the Muse that shall express his reformation, showed himself very soon afterwards in publication of "The Steele Glas. A Satyre compiled by George Gascoigne, Esquire. Together with the Complainte of Phylomene, an Elegie deuised by the same Author. Tam Marti quam Mercurio." The dedication of this "satire written without rime" was to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, and it was dated from Walthamstow on the fifteenth of April, 1576. Gascoigne wrote in it still as one who hoped for honourable employment, and intended to live down the ill repute he had earned by a mis-spent youth. Among the commendatory verses of friends placed before the book, which are less numerous than before the "Posie," one piece of three six-lined stanzas is by "Walter Raleigh of the Middle Temple"—the first published verse of Raleigh's, unless it be second to the piece signed "W. R." in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices."

"The Steel Glass."

Gascoigne's "Steel Glass" is a poem in 1,130 lines, which is in English literature the first satire written in blank verse. It will be remembered that Gascoigne had followed

the writers of "Gorboduc" in using blank verse for his translation of Dolce's play of "Giocasta." It was the design of his satire to hold up an honest, old-fashioned mirror—true as steel—to the faults and vices of his countrymen. Polished metal was the first form of artificial mirror, and although there is mention in the "Perspective" of John Peckham, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, and in Dante of transparent glass made to reflect by covering its back with lead, glass mirrors were little used before the sixteenth century. Reflecting surfaces were made also of polished stone, and of glass coloured to destroy its transparency and give it a reflecting power like that of highly-polished marble; akin to which was "the beryl glass with foils of lovely brown" that Gascoigne praises. The use of burnished steel as a reflector was too obvious to be long overlooked. Our first mirror was usually a round hand-mirror, kept in a case to preserve it from rust. Gascoigne speaks, in his "Epilogue," of having shut his glass too hastily. Exposed mirrors on walls and tables were not common until they ceased to be of metal. The glass mirrors of the sixteenth century came from Italy, and the more general use of them was due to improvement of their manufacture in the famous Venetian glassworks, established originally in 1291, at Murano. It occurred to the glassworkers at Murano to cover the back of a mirror-plate, by a very simple process, with a smooth tin-foil saturated with quicksilver. Glass mirrors of rare brilliancy were thus obtained, and Murano, in Gascoigne's time, was beginning to draw customers for its looking-glasses from all parts of Europe. These glasses could be set against a wall as ornaments, could be as much as even four feet long for the luxurious, and were not only beautiful themselves, but seemed to give some of their lustre to the faces they so perfectly reflected; whereas it could certainly be said for the old steel hand-mirrors that they did not flatter.

Lucilius, said Gascoigne in this poem, was the first satirist

> "Who at his death bequeathed the Crystal Glass
> To such as love to Seem but not to Be;
> And unto those that love to see themselves,
> How foul or fair soever that they are,
> He gan bequeath a Glass of trusty Steel,
> Wherein they may be bold always to look
> Because it shows all things in their degree.
> And since myself, now pride of youth is past,
> Do love to Be, and let all Seeming pass,
> Since I desire to see myself indeed
> Not what I would but what I am or should,
> Therefore I like this trusty Glass of Steel";

and, in proceeding to show through all orders of men what he sees in it, he takes the false gloss from his time, and compares Being with Seeming.

"The Steel Glass" is a clever satire, which upholds with religious earnestness a manly and true life. Satire, who has Plain Dealing for father, Simplicity for mother, and Poesy for sister, complains that his sister has been married to Vain Delight, and that every man will have a glass "to see himself, yet so he seeth him not":

> "That age is dead and vanished long ago
> Which thought that steel both trusty was and true,
> And needed not a foil of contraries,
> But showéd all things as they werè in deed;
> Instead whereof our curious years can find
> The crystal glass which glimseth brave and bright,
> And shows the thing much better than it is,
> Beguiled with foils of sundry subtle sights,
> So that they Seem, but covet not to Be."

Gascoigne's satire, therefore, resolves to hold up the faithful glass of burnished steel, and from it show true images of men. This poem, in blank verse, is the only example in our language of a poem of any length, and not dramatic, written

in that measure before Milton's "Paradise Lost," except an insignificant work by W. Vallans, published in 1590, as "The Tale of the Two Swans, wherein is comprehended the original and increase of the River Lea, commonly called Ware River; together with the Antiquities of sundrie Places and Towns seated upon the same."

"The Complaint of Philomene."

Gascoigne shaped the opening of his "Steel Glass," into accord with "The Complaint of Philomene," which he published with it, by calling for help in his song to the nightingale, whose trusty tongue King Tereus had cut out:

> "And yet, even as the mighty gods did deign
> For Philomele, that though her tongue were cut,
> Yet should she sing a pleasant note sometimes:
> So have they deigned, by their divine decrees,
> That with the stumps of my reprovéd tongue,
> I may sométimes Reprover's deeds reprove,
> And sing a verse to make them see themselves."

The tale of "Philomel" is told in Poulter's measure, with the Alexandrine and the Septenar divided so as to form four-lined stanzas, thus:

> "In Athens reigned sometime
> A king of worthy fame,
> Who kept in court a stately train,
> Pandion was his name."

This tale is set between an introduction and a close written in four-lined stanzas of ten-syllabled iambic lines, with alternate rhymes, and with the sentence not always complete within the stanza, as it is in these four lines from the introduction:

> "The gods are good, they hear the hearty prayers
> Of such as crave without a crafty will,
> With favour eke they further such affairs
> As tend to good and mean to do none ill."

The sense runs usually through the stanzas without any fixed place for the completion of a sentence. The fitting of a complete thought into each four lines of such a measure was a device introduced by Sir John Davies in a poem written at the end of Elizabeth's reign. In later years, before the power of blank verse was fully known, such stanzas were recommended by Sir William Davenant as fit to be made the heroic measure of our English verse.

It was in April, 1576, when his health was beginning to fail, that Gascoigne printed, with an introductory epistle, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's "Discourse of a new Passage to Cataia," written ten years before to satisfy his brother's doubts. Gascoigne had borrowed the letter when dining with Sir Humphrey at his house in Limehouse, Gascoigne's kinsman, Martin Frobisher, having inspired him with his own interest in the subject.

Other Works.

On the second of May, 1576, Gascoigne dedicated to Francis, second Earl of Bedford, another work, "finished in weak plight for health, as your Lordship well knoweth," of which he gives this account:—"Tossing and retossing in my small library amongst some books which had not often felt my fingers' ends in fifteen years before, I chanced to light upon a small volume scarce comely covered, and well worse handled. For to tell a truth unto your honour it was written in an old kind of characters, and so torn as it neither had the beginning perspicuous nor its end perfect. So that I cannot certainly say who should be the author of the same." Its author was Pope Innocent III. It was a book, *De Miseria Humanæ Conditionis*, first printed in 1470, from which Gascoigne translated passages which he published as "The Droome of Doomes Day," and the printer said in it to the reader, "While this work was in the Press, it pleased God to visit the Translator thereof with sickness. So that being unable himself to attend to the daily proofs, he appointed a servant of his to oversee the same."

Nevertheless, Gascoigne published, in the following August, "A Delicate Diet for Daintie-mouthed Droonkardes," and on the first of January, 1577, he presented to the queen, as New Year's gift, a poem called "The Grief of Joy. Certayne Elegies wherein the doubtfull delightes of mannes lyfe are displaied." It contained three songs upon the several vanities of Youth, Beauty, and Strength, with an unfinished song on "The Vanities of Activities," all being designed as the beginning of a larger utterance, partly suggested by the reading of Petrarch, "*De Remediis Utriusque Fortunæ.*" To Gascoigne himself the Remedy was drawing near. He died at Stamford on the seventh of October, 1577.

His friend, George Whetstone, who was by him when he died, published immediately afterwards a poem called "A Remembrance of the well employed Life and godly end of George Gascoigne," told as by his ghost. This poem makes him say of his last illness—

> "Three months I lived and did digest no food,
> When none by art my sickness understood."

His flesh wasted, mind and hand lost power; he died at peace with all men, and had, he said, little but his love to leave with his wife and son, but prayed that the queen would aid them for Christ's sake, not for any service that Gascoigne had done. Gascoigne died when he had only reached the age of forty, but he had lived long enough for his fame. He was the strongest of the English poets of his generation, and he did not, like Churchyard, live to see how greater poets rose and his light paled in their brightness, —how little wits grew dainty-mouthed, and lisped and trilled, and smiled at Gascoigne's plain song as old-fashioned. He was "old Gascoigne" to the generation of men who were boys in 1579.

George Whetstone, who wrote in rhyme the life and

death of his friend Gascoigne, had published in the preceding year, 1576, his first work, "The Rocke of Regarde, divided into Four Parts: The Castle of Delight; The Garden of Unthriftiness; The Arbour of Virtue; and The Orchard of Repentance." In the Castle of Delight, Whetstone tells the story from Bandello of "The Disordered life of Bianca Maria, Countesse of Alaunt," chiefly in Chaucer's stanza. There is also a prose Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta, said to be from the Italian, but possibly by Whetstone himself. The Garden of Unthriftiness gives the Dolorous Discourse of Dom Diego, a Spaniard, together with his triumph, from Bandello. Whetstone's version is partly in verse, partly in prose. There is a rhymed tale from Bandello in the next section. In the year after Gascoigne's death, George Whetstone published, in August, 1578, "The History of Promos and Cassandra, divided into Two comical Discourses." They were two five-act plays, founded upon a story in the *Hecatommithi* or Hundred Novels of Giovanbattista Giraldi Cinthio, where it is the fifth novel of the eighth set of ten. In his "Heptameron of Civil Discourses," published in 1582, Whetstone told the story again as a prose novel, and joined to it, as a marginal note, the statement that "this Historie, for rarenes thereof, is lively set out in a Comedie by the Reporter of the whole worke, but yet never presented upon stage." Upon Whetstone's unacted "Promos and Cassandra," Shakespeare formed, about twenty-five years later, his play of "Measure for Measure." It is worth noting, also, that the story of "Pericles" had, in 1576, been "gathered into English by Lawrence Twine," as "The Pattern of Painful Adventures. Containing the strange Accidents that befel Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife, and Tharsa his daughter."

George Whetstone.

George Whetstone was a young man in 1579, the greater part of whose work belongs to later years, and whom we

shall meet again. In this book of our History we seldom pass beyond the year it takes as a dividing line between the earlier and latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The whole reign covered a period of forty-four years four months and a week. In 1579, a child born at Elizabeth's accession came of age; she had then reigned twenty-one years, and those who had grown up under the influences of her reign formed the new generation of Englishmen. Then the Elizabethan time bore fruit abundantly. In 1579, Spenser, with the "Shepherd's Calendar," first took his place among English poets. The drama had just sprung into independent life, and Stephen Gosson's "School of Abuse," published in that year, 1579, as an attack upon the stage, serves well to mark the point it had then reached. In the same year, 1579, young John Lyly published the "Euphues," which gave its name to an external fashion of Elizabethan speech. Before 1579, while the number of works of genius was yet small, both history and literature show how England was still gathering the force that after 1579 found its own various ways of intense expression.

Thomas Tusser belongs to the earlier part of the reign. He died in 1580. He was born about the year 1515, at Rivenhall, in Essex, was first a chorister at St. Paul's, and then was placed at Eton, under Nicholas Udall,* of whom he says, in a metrical account of his own life: Thomas Tusser.

> "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was,
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> To me, poor lad!"

* "E. W." viii., 98—101, 157.

Tusser went from Eton to Cambridge, was fourteen years at Court under the patronage of Lord Paget, then took a farm in Suffolk, and rhymed about farming. He first broke out in 1557, with his "Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie," but his crop of rhyming maxims had increased five-fold by the year 1573, when Richard Tottel published Tusser's "Five Hundreth Points of good Husbandry," giving the round of the year's husbandry month by month, in a book of ninety-eight pages, six and a half quatrains to a page. Tusser's strength may have been in high farming—it was not in high poetry. Nevertheless, there is a musical sententiousness in his terse rhymes, and an air of business about them. His Pegasus tugged over the clods with his shoulder well up to the collar, and the maxims were in a form likely to ensure for them wide currency among the people. While less practical poets might bid their readers go idly a-Maying with Maid Marian, Tusser advised otherwise:

"Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry."

> "In May get a weed-hook, a crotch, and a glove,
> And weed out such weeds as the corn doth not love.
> For weeding of winter corn now it is best,
> But June is the better for weeding the rest."

George Turbervile was about fifteen years younger than Tusser. He was born at Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, became secretary to Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador at the Court of Russia, and lived into the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He published in 1567 two translations—one of "The Heroical Epistles of Ovid," six of them translated into blank verse, and the others into four-lined stanzas; the other of the Latin "Eclogues of Mantuan," an Italian poet, who had died in 1516. In 1570 there appeared a volume of his own poems, as "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonets;

George Turbervile.

with a Discourse of the friendly Affections of Tymetes to Pindara his Ladie." Turbervile takes a pleasant place among the elder Elizabethan poets. He wrote also books of Falconrie and Hunting, and made versions from the Italian, notably ten "Tragical Tales translated by Turbervile, in Time of his Troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the Argument and L'Envoye to each Tale," published in 1576.

Arthur Brooke.

From Italy, with French intervention, the story of "Romeo and Juliet" first came into English verse in 1562, two years before Shakespeare's birth, as "The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and now in English by Ar. Br."—that is, Arthur Brooke. Arthur Brooke took his poem from a French variation on the story by Bandello, himself altering and adding. In 1567, "Romeo and Juliet" appeared again in English, this time in prose, as the twenty-fifth novel of the second volume of the "The Palace of Pleasure," a collection of tales from the Italian, by William Painter. Shakespeare afterwards founded his play on the tale as told by Arthur Brooke. Thus Ar. Br. wrote:

> " 'Art thou,' quoth he, 'a man? Thy shape saith so thou art;
> Thy crying and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's hart:
> For manly reason is quite from of thy mind outchased,
> And in her stead affections lewd and fancies highly placed;
> So that I stoode in doute this howre at the least,
> If thou a man or woman wert or els a brutish beast.'"

Which became in Shakespeare's verse:

> "Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art;
> Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
> The unreasonable fury of a beast."

William Painter was born in Middlesex, and entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar in November,

1554. His age may have been seventeen or more when he went to college. In an application concerning irregularities at the Ordnance Office, in 1591, his son twice describes him as "his aged father." If Painter went to Cambridge at seventeen, he would have been born in 1537, and fifty-four years old when his son found it convenient to call him "aged." Upon his admission to St. John's, he was made clock-keeper to the college, and scholar on the Lady Margaret foundation. When he left Cambridge, William Painter became master of the school at Sevenoaks in Kent. The master should be a graduate, but there is no record of Painter's graduation. In 1560, on the twenty-fifth of April, he was ordained deacon by Edmund Grindal, then Bishop of London.

William Painter.

A college friend of Painter's was William Fulke, who was born in 1538, son of a rich citizen in London, and matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, one year later than Painter. William Fulke, after graduation, studied law for six years. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, where he took an important part in the Puritan controversy. In his younger days, while forced into law studies at Clifford's Inn, Fulke attacked the astrological false prophets by publishing, in 1560, an *Anti-prognosticon, contra inutiles Astrologorum prædictiones.* In this his friend William Painter took part by prefixing an address in prose signed "Your familiar friend, William Paynter," with Latin verses, dated from Sevenoaks on the twenty-second of October, as *Gulielmi Painteri ludi magistri Seuenochensis Tetrastichon.* He added also a short treatise to his translation of Fulke's work, published in 1561, "Anti-prognosticon, that is to saye, an Invective against the vayne and unprofitable predictions of the astrologians, as Nostrodame, &c. Translated out of Latine into Englishe. Whereunto is added by the author, a short treatise in Englishe, as well

William Fulke.

William Painter.

for the better subversion of that fained arte, as also for the better understanding of the common people, unto whom the fyrst labour seemeth not sufficient."

In the same year, 1561, William Painter obtained that appointment as Clerk of the Great Ordnance in the Tower of London, which thenceforth became his means of livelihood until his death, and in which he followed what was the too common practice of taking dishonest advantage of his opportunities of putting money in his purse. William Painter married Dorothy Bonham, of Cowling, and had five children. Having his own home near the Tower, he bought the manor of East Court, in the parish of Gillingham, where one of his sons lived in the father's lifetime, and he bought in the same parish the manor of Twidall. He was still Clerk of the Ordnance when, "being very sick," he made a nuncupative will on the nineteenth of February, 1594, and probably died soon afterwards. Painter's transactions at the Ordnance Office had been often questioned, and so far inquired into that he was held to have died owing the queen seven thousand eight hundred pounds. For what was unpaid of this in May, 1622, his grandson had a discharge from James I.

Painter's work upon "The Palace of Pleasure" seems to have been begun when he was schoolmaster at Sevenoaks. At first it was planned on a smaller scale, as a collection of stories selected and translated out of Livy. This must have been the book entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1562, to William Jones, "for his license for printing of a book entitled 'The Cytie of Cyvelete,' translated into English by William Paynter." No copy of such a book is known, but the entry of it agrees with Painter's own account of the growth of his plan, in the dedication of the first volume of the "Palace of Pleasure" to the Earl of Warwick, General of the Ordnance. He began with stories from Livy, saw his way to more tales

"The Palace of Pleasure."

from the ancients; then paused awhile, till he resolved boldly to add tales translated from Italian and French. Instead, therefore, of printing his tales from the ancients as "The Citie of Civilitie," in 1562, he issued the first of the two parts of the expanded work as "The Palace of Pleasure," in 1566. This contained sixty novels. "The second Tome" followed in 1567. This contained thirty-four novels, and it had a notice at the end: "Because suddenly, contrary to expectation, this volume is risen to greater heap of leaves, I do omit for this present time sundry Novels of merry device, reserving the same to be joined with the rest of another part, wherein shall succeed the remnant of Bandello, specially such, suffrable, as the learned Frenchman François de Belleforest hath selected, and the choicest done in the Italian. Some also out of Erizzo, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Parabosco, Cinthio, Straparola, Sansovino, and the best liked out of the Queen of Navarre and other Authors. Take these in good part, with those that have and shall come forth." They were taken in very good part, and formed a storehouse often visited by dramatists in search of stories suited to their art. But the third volume, designed upon so liberal a scale, did not appear.

There was a reprint of the first volume in 1569, and another in 1575, to which five novels were added, and of which the whole text was revised. There was—perhaps in 1580—an undated edition of the second volume, with the text revised and one tale added. This brought the whole number finally to One Hundred, sixty-five of the tales being in the first volume and thirty-five in the second.

As to his sources, Painter began, as has been said, with Livy, taking from him the five tales of the Horatii and Curiatii, The Rape of Lucrece, Mutius Scævola, Coriolanus, Appius and Virginia. Then followed the two tales from Herodotus of Candaules and Gyges, Crœsus and Solon. Next came, in succession, three tales from Ælian, one from

Xenophon, two from Quintus Curtius, thirteen from Aulus Gellius, and one—Timon of Athens—from Plutarch, making in all twenty-eight tales from the ancients which may represent the population of "The Citie of Civilitie."

The rest of Painter's work all represents the large influence of Italy on English literature in Elizabeth's reign. He called his work by a name derived from Cicero's comment, in his fifth book *De Finibus*, on the profit and pleasure to be had from reading histories: "If Tullie then, the Prince of Orators, doth affirme the profite and pleasure to be in perusing of histories, then fitlye haue I intituled this volume The Palace of Pleasure." Of the tales from Italian, ten in the first volume and six in the second were translated from Boccaccio. From Bandello, Painter took eight of the tales in his first volume, one (Antiochus) translated straight from the Italian, the others, by avowed preference, through the French—"chosing," he says, "rather to follow Launay and Belleforest, the French Translatours, than the barren soile of his own vain, who being a Lombard doth frankly confesse himselfe to be no fine Florentine, or trimme Thoscane, as eloquent and gentle Boccaccio was." In Painter's second volume there were seventeen tales from Bandello, of which nine were translated straight from the Italian.

Matteo Bandello, born in Piedmont about 1480, spent the latter half of his life in France, and had been for twelve years Bishop of Agen when he died, in 1562. He wrote two hundred and fourteen tales, which appeared in four volumes published at intervals from 1554 to 1573. He was a capital story-teller, with a light, clear style, in spite of his "being a Lombard."

François de Belleforest, the translator of Bandello into French, a busy writer who lived by his pen, was in full activity when William Painter used his work. He was but fifty-three years old when he died in Paris, on the first of

January, 1583. His *Histoires Tragiques* began in the year 1560, with a volume of eighteen tales from Bandello, the first six by Pierre Boisteau, surnamed Launay, native of Bretagne, the twelve following by François de Belleforest, of Cominges. It was this volume that, when it first came into Painter's hands, seems to have suggested to him the extension of his first design. He began with translations from it, and when Belleforest published at intervals other volumes of *Histoires Tragiques*, the second, in 1565, was used by Painter for his second volume. Belleforest's third volume was not published until 1568, his fourth in 1570. Belleforest was a client of Margaret of Navarre, who began her care of him when he was seven years old, and had just lost his father. She educated him, and bred him to the bar, but he turned from law to letters. Belleforest's collaborator was thus commended in 1581, in a book for instruction in French, by Claudius Hollyband: Let the learner "take in hand any of the works of M. de Launay, otherwise called Pierre Boaystuau, as the best and most eloquent writer of our tongue. His works be the *Theatre du Monde*, 'The Tragical Histories,' 'The Prodigious Histories.'"

Two tales in Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" were taken from the *Pecorone* (sheep's head or dunce) of Ser Giovanni, a notary of Florence. "Dunce" was the author's way of designing himself, according to a fashion of his time. The writing of the fifty tales of the *Pecorone* was begun in 1378, at a village near Forli, and the tales were founded upon facts drawn from the Florentine chronicles of Giovanni Villani, who died in 1348. Though written in the fourteenth century, the *Pecorone* of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino was first published at Milan in 1558, and was almost a new book when William Painter took two tales from it.

Painter took also two tales from the *Hecatommithi* of the Ferrarese Giovanni Giraldi Cinthio, who was then a living writer. He was secretary to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara.

His Hundred Tales were first printed in Sicily in 1565, and then at Venice in 1566. Cinthio died in 1573.

One novel Painter took from the *Tredeci Piacevole Notte* of Giovan Francesco Straparola, the first and second parts of whose collection, drawn from very many sources, were first published at Venice in 1550 and 1554, after which came four editions of the complete work. Thus, except Boccaccio, the Italian and French sources from which Painter drew—not even excepting the *Pecorone*—were in the new literature that was about him when he wrote.*

With these translations, the first use of the word "novel" came into our literature from Boccaccio. The word "novels," in the sense of "news," was used in the English of the Wakefield or Towneley Mysteries. Boccaccio's "Novelle" were pieces of pleasant information, true or invented—news is of both sorts—about incidents in the lives of known persons, dead or living, given in talk. Thus one novel begins: "Messer Currado Gianfiliazzi, as most of you have both seen and known, living always in our city in the estate of a noble citizen, being a man bountiful, magnificent, and within the degree of knighthood, continually kept both hawks and hounds, taking no mean delight in such pleasures as they yielded, neglecting for them far more serious employments, wherewith our present subject presumeth not to meddle. Upon a day, having killed with his falcon a crane, near to a village called Peretola"—so we come to the "novella" of what passed between this

"Novels."

* Joseph Haslewood's edition of Painter's "Palace of Pleasure," London, 4to, 2 vols. in 3, 1813, has been followed in 1890, by 3 vols. 4to, published by David Nutt, of "The Palace of Pleasure: Elizabethan Versions of Italian and French Novels from Boccaccio, Bandello, Cinthio, Straparola, Queen Margaret of Navarre, and others. Done into English by William Painter; now again edited for the fourth time by Joseph Jacobs": a book excellent in form and matter.

gentleman and his cook. The first novels were short tales, planned upon the model of the Hundred Novels in the "Decameron."

Geoffrey Fenton was an active translator until 1579, and his life after that date was concerned more actively with Irish politics as principal Secretary of State for Ireland. He was knighted in 1589, and died at Dublin in 1608. His father was of Fenton, in Nottinghamshire, and his mother was one of the Beaumonts of Cole-Orton. He was not thirty years old in 1567, when he was living in Paris, and published a collection of tales translated from Belleforest and Boaistuau, as "Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latine by Geffraie Fenton, no less profitable than pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquityes or forraine reportes." This book, dated from Fenton's lodgings in Paris on the twenty-second of June, 1567, was dedicated to Lady Mary Sidney, and anticipated Painter's second volume. Four of Fenton's thirteen tales were translated also in Painter's second volume, which appeared a few months later. Painter's versions followed their text closely. That was their chief merit. He did not aim at elegance, but did not very often mistranslate. Fenton elaborated the elaborations of Belleforest. All the tales given by Fenton were from Belleforest's versions of Bandello. There was nothing "oute of Latine," except in as far as Italian comes out of Latin.

Geoffrey Fenton.

"Certaine Tragicall Discourses."

Geoffrey Fenton, after this his first venture, worked on as a translator. In 1570 he translated out of French "A Discourse of the Civile warres and late Troubles in France, drawn into English"; in 1571, "Actes of Conference in Religion, or Disputations holden at Paris betwene two Papistes of Sorbon and two godly Ministers of the Church"; in 1572, "Monophylo, drawne

Other Translations.

into English by Geffray Fenton. A Philosophical Discourse and Diuision of Loue"; in 1574, "A Forme of Christian Pollicie gathered out of French by Geffray Fenton"; in 1575, "Golden Epistles, conteyning varietie of discourse, both Morall, Philosophicall, and Divine, gathered as well out of the remaynder of Gueuaraes Woorkes, as other Authours, Latine, French, and Italian." A second edition "newly corrected and amended" followed in 1577. This was a supplement to the "Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthonie of Gueuara," published in the preceding year, 1574, by Edward Hellowes, and dedicated to Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Leash, under whom Hellowes was Groom of the Leash, in Queen Elizabeth's household; afterwards he became Groom of the Chamber, and had grant of twelve shillings a day for life. Hellowes dedicated to the queen, in 1577, "A chronicle conteyning the lives of tenne Emperours of Rome," and to Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, in 1578, "A Book of the Inuention of the Arte of Navigation."

Guevara's Epistles.

Edward Hellowes.

Geoffrey Fenton published, in 1578, the translation of "An Epistle or Godly Admonition, sent to the Pastors of the Flemish Church in Antwerp, exhorting them to concord with other Ministers, written by Antony de Carro"; and in 1579 he closed the literary prelude to his active life as a statesman with a translation—through the French—of Guicciardini's History of the Wars in Italy. This he dedicated to the queen.

Fenton's Translation: Guicciardini.

Other collections of novels following those of William Painter and Geoffrey Fenton, to the date of 1579, were George Pettie's "Pettie Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure," in 1576; "Straunge, lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories, Translated out of French into English by R. S." (Robert Smith), in 1577. There

Other Collection of Novels.

were tales, also, in Barnabe Rich's "Dialogue between Mercury and an English Souldier" (1574); in George Whetstone's "Rocke of Regard" (1576); and in H. C.'s "Forrest of Fancy" (1579).

George Pettie.

George Pettie, born about the year 1548, was a younger son of John Pettie, of Tetsworth and Stoke-Talmach, in Oxfordshire. He was a student of Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1570. After completion of his university course, George Pettie travelled abroad. "A Pettie Palace of Pettie his Pleasure, containing many pretty stories in comely colours, and most delightful discourses," was entered at Stationers' Hall to Richard Watkyns in 1576, and printed by him without date. It reached a fifth edition by the year 1613. George Pettie became a sea-captain, and died at Plymouth in July, 1589, leaving lands that he had from his father at Tetsworth and Aston-Rowant to his brother Christopher.

"A Pettie Palace of Pettie his Pleasure."

There are twelve stories in Pettie's "Pettie Palace," all classical and tragical, all treated in his own way, modernised in feeling, told after the manner of the Italian amatory novel, and with frequent allusion to modern persons under ancient names. Pettie indulged largely in alliteration, antithesis, and other forms of speech that had already grown into a dainty fashion of talk, and that became afterwards associated with the style of Lyly's "Euphues." He himself referred to his new style, saying, "If you like not of some words and phrases, used contrary to their common custom, you must think, that seeing we allow of new fashions in cutting of beards, in long-waisted doublets, in little short hose, in great caps, in low hats, and almost in all things, it is as much reason we should allow of new fashions in phrases and words." Of this novelty in style more will be said at the end of the next chapter, when Lyly's "Euphues" has

been described. The twelve tales in Pettie's "Pettie Palace" are of Synorix and Camma, Tereus and Progne; Germanicus and Agrippina; Amphiaraus and Eriphile; Icilius and Virginia; Admetus and Alcestis; Scilla and Minos; Curiatius and Horatia; Cephalus and Procris; Minos and Pasiphaë; Pygmalion; and Saint Alexius.*

George Pettie dated in February, 1581, his other work, which was not published until 1586, "The ciuile Conuersation of M. Stephen Guazzo, written first in Italian, diuided into foure bookes, the first three translated out of French by George Pettie," &c. The fourth book was translated out of Italian by Bartholomew Young, who was afterwards translator (in 1598) of George of Montemayor's "Diana."

Translation of Guazzo.

* No. 70 of "Quellen und Forschungen" (Strassburg, 1892), is a study of the history of the Italian Novel in the English Literature of the Sixteenth Century—"Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle in der Englischen Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts"—by Dr. Emil Koeppel, of Munich. Dr. Koeppel looks upon Lyly's style as an imitation of George Pettie's in every point except the excessive use of similes drawn from a fabulous Natural History. Such similes, however, do occur in Pettie, and Dr. Koeppel quotes one from Pettie's "Pygmalion" that is repeated in "Euphues." "Pygmalion": "Like the stone of Scilitia, which the more it is beaten, the harder it is." "Euphues": "Like the stone of Sicilia, the which the more it is beaten, the harder it is."

CHAPTER IX.

ASCHAM'S "SCHOOLMASTER" AND LYLY'S "EUPHUES."

JOHN LYLY appears to have taken the suggestion of the subject, as well as the name, of his novel called "Euphues", from Roger Ascham's "Schoolmaster." We turn, therefore, to Ascham again, and complete the record of his work, before adding to the story of the English novel an account of Lyly's "Euphues."

Ascham,* although a Protestant, had escaped persecution in the reign of Mary; his pension had been renewed, and in May, 1554, he had been appointed Latin secretary to the queen, with a salary of forty marks. In that year also he gave up his fellowship, and married Margaret Howe. By Queen Elizabeth, Roger Ascham, who had been one of her teachers in Greek, was still allowed his pension, and retained in his post of Latin secretary. In 1560, the queen gave him the prebend of Wetwang, in York Minster. The archbishop had given it to another, and Ascham did not get his dues without a lawsuit. In 1563, Ascham, as one in the queen's service, was dining with Sir William Cecil, when the conversation turned to the subject of education, from news of the running away of some boys from Eton, where there was much beating. Ascham argued that young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to obtain good learning. Sir Richard Sackville, father of Thomas Sack-

Roger Ascham.

* E. W." viii. 167-70.

ville, said nothing at the dinner-table, but he afterwards drew Ascham aside, agreed with his opinions, lamented his own past loss by a harsh schoolmaster, and said, as Ascham tells us in the preface to his book, "'Seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this, my mishap, some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville, my son's son. For whose bringing up I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age" (Ascham had three little sons); "we will deal thus together. Point you out a schoolmaster who by your order shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea, though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year: and besides you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have.' Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day." The conversation went into particulars, and in the course of it Sir Richard drew from Ascham what he thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. All ended with a request that Ascham would "put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching, and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men." That was the origin of Ascham's book called "The Schoolmaster." Ascham wrote in Latin against the mass, and upon other subjects connected with religious controversy. His delicate health failed more and more. He became unable to work between dinner and bed-time, was troubled with sleeplessness, sought rest by the motion of a cradle, and ended his pure life as a scholar in 1568, at the age of fifty-three. His "Schoolmaster" was left complete, and published in 1576 by his widow, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil. Beseeching him, she said, to take on him "the defence of the book, to avaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance

and furtherance to publike use and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memory of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve, and whose you are, I rest to trouble you. Your humble Margaret Ascham." The treatise is in two parts, one deals with general principles, the other is technical, as in "Toxophilus"; the first book teaching the bringing up of youth, the second book teaching the ready way to the Latin tongue.

"*The Schoolmaster.*"

Ascham opens his First Book with the best way of teaching Latin, in the course of which he insists much upon gentleness in giving full and direct guidance to the child. Ascham proceeds then to direct condemnation of sharp schoolmasters, "who, when they meet with a hard-witted scholar, rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him. . . . Even the wisest of your great beaters do as often punish nature as they do correct faults. Yea, many times the better nature is sorer punished; for if one by quickness of wit take his lesson readily, another, by hardness of wit, taketh it not so speedily; the first is always commended, the other is commonly punished: when a wise schoolmaster should rather discreetly consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading books in my study, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those which be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young." The causes of this he proceeds to reason out. Different qualities of mind in children, and ill discrimination among parents and teachers, lead to an ill choice of the minds that are to be specially trained to learning. Horsemen understand a colt much better than schoolmasters a child. "And it is a pity that commonly more care is had—yea, and that amongst very wise men—to find out rather a cunning man for their horse than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in word, but they do so in deed. For to the one they will gladly give a stipend of two hundred crowns by year, and loth to offer to the other two hundred shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to

scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should; for he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horses, but wild and unfortunate children, and, therefore, in the end they find more pleasure in their horse than comfort in their children."

Then Ascham gives, from Socrates in Plato, seven plain notes to choose a good wit for learning in a child. He should be (1) Euphues—that is, apt in all ways by nature, with full use of all his senses. "Εὐφυής," the "Schoolmaster" said, "is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body that must another day serve learning, not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound, whole, full, and able to do their office: as a tongue not stammering, or over hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and man-like; a countenance not werish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly: for surely a comely countenance, with a goodly stature, giveth credit to learning and authority to the person; otherwise, commonly, either open contempt or privy disfavour doth hurt or hinder both person and learning. And even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the greatest exercise of God's greatest gift, and that is learning? But commonly the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so; and with examples herein I will not meddle; yet I wish that those should both mend it and meddle with it which have most occasion to look to it, as good and wise fathers should do," &c.

This is the passage from which Lyly took the name of his novel, and from its context he took, probably, the suggestion of its second title, "The Anatomy of Wit." The good pupil, then, should be (1), Euphues; (2), Mnemōn, good of memory—and the marks of a good memory are three: that it is quick in receiving, sure in keeping, and ready in delivering forth again; (3), Philomathēs, given to love learning; (4), Philoponos, having a lust to labour, and a will to take pains. But where love is present, labour is seldom absent, and especially in study of learning and matters of the mind. And yet, goodness of nature may do little good; perfection of memory may serve to small use; all love may be employed in vain; any labour may be soon gravelled, if a man trust always to his own singular wit, and will not be glad sometime to hear, take advice, and learn of another; and,

therefore, doth Socrates very notably add the fifth note. The good scholar is (5), Philēkoös, glad to hear and learn of another; (6), Zētētikos, naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt, not ashamed to learn of the meanest, not afraid to go to the greatest, until he be perfectly taught and fully satisfied; (7), he is Philepainos, loves to be praised for well doing at his father's or master's hand. A child of this nature will earnestly love learning, gladly labour for learning, willingly learn of others, boldly ask any doubt. Of these seven points of a good scholar, "the two first be special benefits of nature, which, nevertheless, be well preserved and much increased by good order. But, as for the five last—love, labour, gladness to learn of others, boldness to ask doubts, and will to win praises, they be won and maintained by the only wisdom and discretion of the schoolmaster, which five points, whether a schoolmaster shall work sooner in a child by fearful beating or courteous handling, you that be wise, judge." Nevertheless, remarks Ascham, men who are really wise, though not in this matter, uphold the severe customs of the school. If children think play pleasant, and work wearisome, "the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be young as in the order and manner of bringing up by them that be old, nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime. For, beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book." The season of youth is apt for learning; therefore, if to the goodness of nature be joined the wisdom of the teacher, in leading young wits into a right and plain way of learning, surely children, kept up in God's fear, and governed by His grace, may most easily be brought to serve God and their country both by virtue and wisdom. Ascham here illustrates his argument by the story of his finding of Lady Jane Grey, when he called on her at Broadgate, in Leicestershire, before his going into Germany, reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, "and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio." He asked her how that was, and she said it was because God had given her severe parents and a gentle schoolmaster. At home she was so continually under punishment and censure that she longed for the time when she must go to Mr. Aylmer, "who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking to me."

Children of old, says Ascham, were under the rule of three persons —the preceptor or schoolmaster, the pedagogue who corrected his manners, and the parent. The preceptor taught learning with all

gentleness; the pedagogue corrected with much sharpness. "But what shall we say when now in our days the schoolmaster is used both for Præceptor in learning and Pædagogus in manners. Surely I would he should not confound their offices, but discreetly use the duty of both, so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished, nor gentleness in teaching any wise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wisely he do appoint diversity of time, and separate place, for either purpose: using always such discreet moderation, as the schoolhouse should be considered a sanctuary against fear."

But Ascham turns next to the duty of the pedagogue, and complains that while there had come to be in his time too much severity in teaching, there was too much laxity in discipline of manners. Between seventeen and twenty-seven young men, he says, have commonly the reins of all licence in their own hands, especially those who live at the Court. Nobility without wisdom breaks upon the rocks; "the fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellors and greatest doers in the weighty affairs of this realm." Youth is marred by ill company and the ill-judgment of courtiers, who look on quietness as want of wit; on modesty as babyish. And if a youth be innocent and ignorant of ill, they say he is rude, and hath no grace, so ungraciously do some graceless men misuse the fair and godly word GRACE. It is grace with them to blush at nothing and look bold, "where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawn, flatter, laugh, and lie lustily at other men's liking. To face, stand foremost, shove back: and to the meaner man, or unknown in the Court, to seem somewhat solemn, coy, big, and dangerous of look, talk, and answer: to think well of himself, to be lusty in condemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privy mock."

"For Italy," said Ascham, "the best that it could teach of the joining of learning with comely exercises was to be found in the 'Courtier' (*Cortegiano*) of Count Baldassar Castiglione" (the original published in 1516), "which book, advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wis, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy." "And I marvel," adds Ascham, "that this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is so well translated into English by a worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Hoby" (translation published 1561). "Italy," said Ascham, "is not what it was wont to be. Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world. Vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it. . . . If a gentleman must needs travel into Italy, he shall do well to look

to the life of the wisest traveller that ever travelled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake with tongue, God's doctrine only excepted, and that is Ulysses in Homer." The "Schoolmaster" observed that Ulysses "is not commended so much nor so oft in Homer, because he was πολύτροπος, that is, skilful in men's manners and fashions, as because he was πολύμητις, that is, wise in all purposes and ware in all places." Against Circe's enchantment Homer's remedy was the herb Moly, "with the black root and white flower, sour at the first but sweet in the end, which Hesiodus termeth the study of virtue." This was of all things most contrary to what Ascham called "the precepts of fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London. . . . Ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine as one of these books do harm with enticing men to ill living."

Let our young men, then, go to Italy under the keep and guard of one "who by his wisdom and honesty, by his example and authority, may be able to keep them safe and sound in the fear of God, in Christ's true religion, in good order and honesty of living." Ascham quoted to his countrymen the Italian proverb, that "an Italianate Englishman is an incarnate devil." The readiest way, he said, to entangle the mind with false doctrine is first to entice the will to wanton living. Ascham dwelt on the outcome of a sensual life in the contempt by Italians alike of the Pope and of Luther; "they allow neither side: they like none but only themselves. The mark they shoot at, the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be: that is Epicures in living, and ἄθεοι" (atheists, the word was now being Anglicised) "in doctrine. This last word is no more unknown now to plain Englishmen than the person was unknown sometime in England, until some Englishmen took pains to fetch that devilish opinion out of Italy."

In the more technical Second Book, teaching the ready way to the Latin tongue, Ascham lays great stress upon double translation; translation from Latin into English, and then back into Latin. The teacher should himself translate a piece of Cicero into plain natural English, give his translation to be restored into Latin, and then carefully compare his pupil's Latin with Cicero's.

Ascham illustrates by reference to the swift progress of a much-loved pupil, John Whitney, and puts upon record his own lines of lament in rude English verse written after his pupil's death. Then he takes in turn the six ways of study—translation, paraphrase, metaphrase, epitome, imitation, declamation. He objects by the way to English

rhyming, taking Greek versification as the pattern of true excellence, and finally sketches the characteristics of the chief Latin writers.

Queen Elizabeth exclaimed, when she heard of Ascham's death, that "she would rather have cast ten thousand pounds into the sea than have lost her Ascham." There are the clearest testimonies to his gentleness of character, and among the best scholars of Elizabeth's reign Ascham's English style was hardly in less repute than his Latin. Gabriel Harvey wrote that "the finest wits prefer the loosest period in M. Ascham or Sir Philip Sidney before the tricksiest page in 'Euphues' or 'Pap Hatchet.'"

John Lyly's "Euphues," which gave its name to the style in fashion at the time of its appearance and for the rest of the years of Elizabeth's reign, seems partly to have been inspired by a reading of Ascham's "Schoolmaster." Lyly's age was about twenty-six in 1579, when "Euphues" was published. He was a Kentish man, who speaks of himself as "scarce born" in Queen Mary's reign. He became a student of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1569, took his B.A. degree in 1573, was in 1574 seeking, without success, a fellowship through the help of Cecil, then Lord Burghley, who became after this time his friend, and found him some employment in his service. In 1575, Lyly commenced M.A., and in the winter of 1578 he wrote "Euphues," which was published early in the spring. John Lyly.

The fashion of ingenious talk had been brought home to England by the young men travelling in Italy to finish their education. In Italy it had arisen during the decay of liberty and rise of petty tyrannies within the old republics. The Medici at Florence, and other little supreme beings elsewhere, had encouraged talk about literature as a substitute for less convenient talk about politics, had set up as patrons of literature and art, enjoying both to a certain extent; but coming into the inheritance that was the produce of a freer

life, they lived in a fruit time, ate and enjoyed the fruit, discussed its flavour with critical elegance, and spoiled the tree. The fine gentlemen at the little Courts of Italy affected wit and talked daintily. Whatever they said must display wit or culture, both at once if possible. An allusion that showed reading, with a turn of thought to it that showed wit, and turns of alliteration and neat balances of word with word that showed in the mere phrase-making a more than vulgar ingenuity, was aimed at especially in speaking, and this way of speech deprived the writer's style of its simplicity.

The fashion spread from Italy through Western Europe, and affected literature in England, Spain, and France, but especially in England and Spain, for French literature was then wanting in energy. The fashion having become established by 1579, and Italian love-tales written in this daintily-conceited fashion being in high favour with the courtiers, John Lyly thought it not amiss to put into the heads of courtiers some of the good doctrine he found in Ascham's "Schoolmaster," by framing it after their own dainty manner in the shape of an Italian novel with increase of verbal ingenuity.

Ascham had condemned the corruption of manners introduced by the much going of young Englishmen to Italy, and had dwelt on the deep need of gentleness and earnestness in training of the young. Those fathers who most needed the lesson were men who would not read a book with "Schoolmaster" for its title, but who might be caught by the bait of a fashionable love-story. Its hero had a name taken—through Ascham—from Plato, representing simply a youth apt by nature to be influenced by all impressions from without. Ascham had represented in "The Schoolmaster," from Plato's "Republic," the "seven plain notes to choose a good wit for a child in learning." He should be, in the first place, Euphues—that is to say, by nature well constituted to receive

impressions through each of his senses, with a full use of all powers of the body; and to pass knowledge on to others, with help of a ready wit, clear voice, and goodly presence. Lyly took Euphues from this list as the name for his hero, and, with a profoundly earnest purpose underlying a quick wit, wrote after the fashion of the day with such complete success that the style of his book was taken as a standard of the form of writing he adopted, which was thence called in Elizabeth's day Euphuism. The name is retained in the study of English prose literature as a convenient term for the style abounding in ingenious conceits of fancy and tricks of phrase, which represent the outward dress of much good English thought under Elizabeth.

There was in such a style among weak writers a not less obvious overlaying of the first simplicities of truth. But the times bred vigour, and in Elizabeth's reign many a good wit could clothe living, breathing thought in a rich robe of conceits that graced its free movement, and heightened rather than obscured every charm.

The first part of "Euphues" is the complete work. The second and longer part, "Euphues and his England," published in 1580, was apparently designed to mitigate some of the severity of the first, and indirectly deprecate in courtly fashion an interpretation of the author's meaning that might lead to the starvation of his family. In the first part, Lyly satisfied his conscience; in the second part, but still without dishonesty, he satisfied the country and the Court.

"*Euphues.*"

In the dedication of his first part to Lord de la Warre, Lyly suggests that there may be found in it "more speeches which for gravity will mislike the foolish, than unseemly terms which for vanity may offend the wise." He anticipates some little disfavour from the "fine wits of the day"; and his allusions to "the dainty ear of the curious sifter," to the use of "superfluous eloquence," to the search after "those

which sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths," sufficiently show that his own manner was formed upon a previously existing taste. Here it is that a censure occurs which is very significant: "It is a world to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than their language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, or wear finer cloth than is made of wool; but I let pass their fineness, which can no way excuse my folly."

Euphues was a young gentleman of great patrimony, who dwelt in Athens, and who corresponded in his readiness of wit and perfectness of body to the quality called Euphues by Plato. Disdaining counsel, the youth left his own country, and happened to arrive at Naples. "This Naples was a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety, the very walls and windows whereof showed it rather to be the tabernacle of Venus than the temple of Vesta; a court more meet for an atheist than for one of Athens." Here the youth determined to make his abode, and wanted no companions. He welcomed all, but trusted none; and showed so pregnant a wit that Eubulus, an old gentleman of Naples, as one lamenting his wantonness and loving his wittiness, warned him against the dangers of a city where he might see drunken sots wallowing in every house, in every chamber, yea, in every channel. The speech of good counsel (which occupies four pages) closed with the solemn admonition, "Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either heart can wish or thy friends desire."

Euphues, who was not at this stage of his journey through life also φιλήκοος—glad to learn of another—accused the old gentleman of churlishness, and proved to him by many similitudes that men's natures are not alike. The sun doth harden the dirt and melt the wax; fire maketh the gold to shine and the straw to smother; perfumes refresh the dove and kill the beetle. Black will take no other colour. The stone asbestos being once made hot will never be made cold. Fire cannot be forced downwards. How can age counsel us who are young, when we are contraries? I am not smothered, says the young man, by your smoky arguments, "but as the chameleon, though he hath most guts draweth least breath, or as the elder tree, though he be fullest of pith, is farthest from strength: so though your reasons seem inwardly to yourself somewhat substantial, and your persuasions pithy in your own conceit, yet they are naught." Here, says Lyly, ye may behold, gentlemen, how lewdly wit standeth in his own light; and he attacks in his own person the censoriousness of men of sharp capacity, who for the most part "esteem of themselves as most proper." If one be hard in conceiving, they pronounce him a dolt; if given to study, they proclaim him a dunce; if merry, a jester; if sad, a saint; if full of words, a sot; if

without speech, a cipher. If one argue with them boldly, then is he impudent; if coldly, an innocent; if there be reasoning of divinity, they cry, *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos;* if of humanity, *Sententias loquitur carnifex.* But of himself he confesses, "I have ever thought so superstitiously of wit, that I fear I have committed idolatry against wisdom."

After a two months' sojourn in Naples, Euphues found a friend in a young and wealthy town-born gentleman named Philautus. Euphues and Philautus used not only one board, but one bed, one book, if so be it they thought not one too many. Philautus had crept into credit with Don Ferardo, one of the chief governors of the city, who, although he had a courtly crew of gentlewomen sojourning in his palace, yet his daughter Lucilla stained the beauty of them all. Unto her had Philautus access, who won her by right of love, and should have won her by right of law, had not Euphues, by strange destiny, broken the bonds of marriage, and forbidden the banns of matrimony.

It happened that Don Ferardo had occasion to go to Venice about certain of his own affairs, leaving his daughter the only steward of his household. Her father being gone, she sent for her friend to supper, who came not alone, but with his friend Euphues, to whom the lady gave cold welcome. When they all sat down, Euphues fed of one dish, which ever stood before him—the beauty of Lucilla. Supper being ended, "the order was in Naples that the gentlewomen would desire to hear some discourse, either concerning love or learning; and although Philautus was requested, yet he posted it over to Euphues, whom he knew most fit for that purpose."

Then follows one of the discourses characteristic of what in Elizabeth's day passed for the daintiness of courtly conversation. Euphues spoke to the question whether qualities of mind or body most awaken love; declared for mind; and said to the gentlewomen, "If you would be tasted for old wine, be in the mouth a pleasant grape." He passed to the inquiry whether men or women be most constant, and, accounting it invidious to choose his own side in that argument, undertook to maintain the contrary to whatever opinion might be given by Lucilla. Lucilla, willing to hear from him praises of her sex, declared that women are to be won with every wind. Euphues, therefore, began the praise of woman's constancy, but ended abruptly, "neither," he said, "for want of good will or lack of proof, but that I feel in myself such alteration that I can scarcely utter one word." Ah, Euphues, Euphues! The gentlewomen were struck into such a quandary with this sudden change, that they all changed colour. But Euphues, taking Philautus by the hand, and giving the gentlewomen thanks for their

patience and his repast, bade them all farewell, and went immediately to his chamber.

Lucilla, who now began to fry in the flames of love, all the company being departed to their lodgings, entered into these terms and contrarieties. Her soliloquy is three pages and a half long, and with its pros and cons of ingenious illustration curiously artificial. Euphues, immediately afterwards, has four pages and a half of mental conflict to work out in similitudes. When he had talked with himself, Philautus entered the chamber, and offering comfort to his mourning friend, was deluded with a tale about the charms of Livia, Lucilla's friend. From Philautus the false friend sought help in gaining frequent access to the lady.

Philautus and Euphues therefore repaired together to the house of Ferardo, where they found Mistress Lucilla and Livia, accompanied with other gentlewomen, neither being idle nor well employed, but playing at cards. Euphues was called upon to resume his former discourse upon the fervency of love in women. But whilst he was yet speaking, Ferardo entered, and departed again within an hour, carrying away Philautus, and craving the gentleman, his friend, to supply his room. Philautus knew well the cause of this sudden departure, which was to redeem certain lands that were mortgaged in his father's time to the use of Ferardo, who, on that condition, had beforetime promised him his daughter in marriage. Euphues was surprised with such incredible joy at this strange event, that he had almost swooned; for, seeing his co-rival to be departed, and Ferardo to give him so friendly entertainment, he doubted not in time to get the good will of Lucilla. Ten pages of love-talk, unusually rich in similitudes, do in fact bring Euphues and Lucilla to a secret understanding. But "as Ferardo went in post, so he returned in haste"; and before there was a second meeting of the lovers, the young lady's father had, in a speech of a page long, containing no similitudes, proposed her immediate marriage to Philautus. Lucilla replied artfully; disclaimed more than a playful acquaintance with Philautus, and declared her love for Euphues, to whom therefore Philautus, after a long soliloquy in his own lodgings, wrote a letter. Having received a gibing answer, he disdained all further intercourse with the false friend.

Euphues having absented himself from the house of Ferardo, while Ferardo himself was at home, longed sore to see Lucilla, which now opportunity offered unto him, Ferardo being gone again to Venice with Philautus. But in this his absence one Curio, a gentleman of Naples, of little wealth and less wit, haunted Lucilla, and so enchanted her, that Euphues was also cast off with Philautus. His next conversation with the fickle lady ended, therefore, thus:—"Farewell, Lucilla, the

most inconstant that ever was nursed in Naples; farewell Naples, the most cursed town in all Italy; and women all, farewell."

Euphues talked much to himself when he reached home, lamenting his rejection of the fatherly counsel of Eubulus, and his spending of life in the laps of ladies, of his lands in maintenance of bravery, and of his wit in the vanities of idle sonnets. The greatest wickedness, he found, is drawn out of the greatest wit, if it be abused by will, or entangled with the world, or inveigled by women. He will endeavour himself to amend all that is past, and be a mirror of godliness thereafter, rather choosing to die in his study amidst his books than to court it in Italy in the company of ladies.

The story is at an end, although the volume is not, and Lyly's idle readers, who have caught at his bait of a fashionably conceited tale, may now begin to feel the hook with which he angles. Ferardo, after vain expostulation with his daughter, died of inward grief, leaving her the only heir of his lands, and Curio to possess them. Long afterwards, we are incidentally told of the shamelessness of her subsequent life and of her wretched end. Philautus and Euphues renewed their friendship. Philautus was earnest to have Euphues tarry in Naples, and Euphues desirous to have Philautus to Athens; but the one was so addicted to the Court, the other to the University, that each refused the offer of the other; yet this they agreed between themselves, that though their bodies were by distance of place severed, yet the communication of their minds was to continue.

The first bit of his mind communicated by the experienced Euphues is entitled "A Cooling Card for Philautus and all fond Lovers." He is ashamed to have himself been, by reason of an idle love, not much unlike those abbey lubbers in his life (though far unlike them in belief) which laboured till they were cold, ate till they sweat, and lay in bed till their bones ached; urges that the sharpest wit inclineth only to wickedness, if it be not exercised; and warns against immoderate sleep, immodest play, unsatiable swilling of wine. He bids Philautus study physic or law—Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours—or confer all his study, all his time, all his treasure, to the attaining of the sacred and sincere knowledge of divinity. If this be not for him, let him employ himself in jousts and tourneys, rather than loiter in love, and spend his life in the laps of ladies. When danger is near, let him go into the country, look to his grounds, yoke his oxen, follow his plough, "and reckon not with thyself how many miles thou hast gone—that showeth weariness; but how many thou hast to go—that proveth manliness." Of woman's enticing ornaments, says Euphues, "I loathe almost to think on their ointments and apothecary drugs, the

sleeking of their faces, and all their slibber sauces which bring queasiness to the stomach and disquiet to the mind. Take from them their periwigs, their paintings, their jewels, their rolls, their bolsterings, and thou shalt soon perceive that a woman is the least part of herself." And Philautus also he admonishes—"Be not too curious to curl thy hair, nor careful to be neat in thine apparel; be not prodigal of thy gold, nor precise in thy going; be not like the Englishman, which preferreth every strange fashion to the use of his own country."

The "Cooling Card" is followed by a letter "to the grave Matrons and honest Maidens of Italy," in the spirit of one who, as he writes, "may love the clear conduit water, though he loathe the muddy ditch. Ulysses, though he detested Calypso with her sugared voice, yet he embraced Penelope with her rude distaff. It should no more grieve the true woman to hear censure of woman's folly "than the mintmaster to see the coiner hanged."

Increasing in gravity as he proceeds, Euphues founds on the recollection of his misspent youth "a caveat to all parents, how they might bring their children up in virtue, and a commandment to all youth how they should frame themselves to their father's instructions." This part of Euphues is, in fact, under the title of "Euphues and his Ephebus," Plutarch's essay on the Education of Children, used by Ascham in his "Schoolmaster," used by Guevara in the second book of "The Dial of Princes," and taken by Lyly straight from Plutarch, for addition to "Euphues" of a systematic essay upon education, sound as Ascham's in its doctrine; dealing with the management of children from their birth, and advancing to the ideal of a university.

Having reasoned that philosophy—one, in its teachings, with religion—should be the scholar's chief object of desire, Euphues delivers home-thrusts at the University of Athens, for the licence of the scholars, the unseemly fashions of their dress, their newly-imported silks and velvets, their courtiers' ways, and their schisms. "I would to God," he says, "they did not imitate all other nations in the vice of the mind as they do in the attire of their body; for certainly, as there is no nation whose fashion in apparel they do not use, so there is no wickedness published in any place that they do not practise. . . . Be there not many in Athens which think there is no God, no redemption, no resurrection?" The common people, seeing the licentious lives of students, say that they will rather send their children to the cart than to the university; "and until I see better reformation in Athens," Euphues adds, "my young Ephebus shall not be nurtured in Athens."

An address to the gentlemen-scholars of Oxford, prefixed to a subsequent edition of the book, proves to us that in these passages of

"Euphues" it was believed that Oxford was "too much defaced or defamed":—

"If any fault be committed," Lyly writes, "impute it to Euphues, who knew you not: not to Lyly, who hates you not. Yet may I of all the rest most condemn Oxford of unkindness, of vice I cannot, who seemed to wean me before she brought me forth, and to give me bones to gnaw before I could get the teat to suck. Wherein she played the nice mother, in sending me into the country to nurse, where I tired at a dry breast three years, and was at the last forced to wean myself."

Lyly, who was a Master of Arts, had passed from the University of Oxford into that of Cambridge, but under what circumstances we are unable to say. It was suggested that Euphues, on his arrival in England, was to visit Oxford, "when he will either recant his sayings or renew his complaints." But he did not get farther than London.

Of the rest of the treatise on education, forming so prominent a part of "Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit," the main doctrines are such as these:—No youth is to be taught with stripes. Ascham and Lyly were alone in maintaining this doctrine, against the strongest contrary opinion. Life is divided into remission and study. As there is watching, so is there sleep; ease is the sauce of labour; holiday the other half of work. Children should exercise a discreet silence: let them also be admonished, that, when they shall speak, they speak nothing but truth; to lie is a vice most detestable, not to be suffered in a slave, much less in a son." Fathers should study to maintain, by love and by example, influence over their sons as they advance to manhood; "let them with mildness forgive light offences, and remember that they themselves have been young. . . . Some light faults let them dissemble as though they knew them not, and seeing them let them not seem to see them, and hearing them let them not seem to hear. We can easily forget the offences of our friends, be they never so great, and shall we not forgive the escapes of our children, be they never so small?"

Let the body be kept in its pure strength by honest exercise, and let the mind, adds Lyly, falling again into the track of censure followed by all satirists of the day, "not be carried away with vain delights, as with travelling into far and strange countries, where you shall see more wickedness than learn virtue and wit. Neither with costly attire of the new cut, the Dutch hat, the French hose, the Spanish rapier, the Italian hilt, and I know not what." There is nothing, he reminds youth, swifter than time, and nothing sweeter. We have not, as Seneca saith, little time to live, but we lose much; neither have we a short life by nature, but we make it shorter by naughtiness; our life is long if we know how to

use it. The greatest commodity that we can yield unto our country, is with wisdom to bestow that talent which by grace was given us. Here Euphues repeats the closing sentences of the wise counsel of Eubulus, scorned by him in the days of his folly, and then passes to a direct exhortation to the study of the Bible. "Oh!" he exclaims, "I would gentlemen would sometimes sequester themselves from their own delights, and employ their wits in searching these heavenly divine mysteries."

Advancing still in earnestness as he presents his Euphues growing in wisdom, and now wholly devoting himself to the study of the highest truth, a letter to the gentlemen-scholars in Athens prefaces a dialogue between Euphues and Atheos, which is an argument against the infidelity that had crept in from Italy. It is as earnest as if Latimer himself had preached it to the courtiers of King Edward. Lyly shows in his matter that he has read the four chapters in Guevara's "Dial of Princes" upon the one living God and upon sundry gods, but he is working out in his own way his own design, and here he is not Euphuistic. Euphues appeals solemnly to Scripture and the voice within ourselves. In citation from the sacred text consist almost his only illustrations; in this he abounds. Whole pages contain nothing but the words of Scripture. At a time when fanciful and mythological adornment was so common to literature that the very Bible Lyly read — the Bishops' Bible—contained woodcut initials upon subjects drawn from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and opened the Epistle to the Hebrews with a sketch of Leda and the Swan, Lyly does not once mingle false ornament with reasoning on sacred things. He refers to the ancients only at the outset of his argument to show that the heathen had acknowledged a Creator; mentions Plato but to say that he recognised one whom we call Lord God omnipotent, glorious, immortal, unto whose similitude we that creep here on earth have our souls framed; and Aristotle, only to tell how, when he could not find out by the secrecy of nature the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, he cried, with a loud voice, "O Thing of Things, have mercy upon me!" In twenty black-letter pages, there are but three illustrations drawn from supposed properties of things. The single anecdote from profane history I will here quote from a discourse that introduces nearly all the texts incorporated in our Liturgy:—

"I have read of Themistocles, which having offended Philip, the King of Macedonia, and could no way appease his anger, meeting his young son Alexander, took him in his arms, and met Philip in the face. Philip, seeing the smiling countenance of the child, was well pleased with Themistocles. Even so, if through thy manifold sins and heinous

offences thou provoke the heavy displeasure of thy God, insomuch as thou shalt tremble for horror, take His only begotten and well-beloved Son Jesus in thine arms, and then He neither can nor will be angry with thee. If thou have denied thy God, yet if thou go out with Peter and weep bitterly, God will not deny thee. Though with the prodigal son thou wallow in thine own wilfulness, yet if thou return again sorrowful thou shalt be received. If thou be a grievous offender, yet if thou come unto Christ with the woman in Luke, and wash His feet with thy tears, thou shalt obtain remission."

Lyly's "Euphues" closes with "Certain letters writ by Euphues to his friends." Among these is a letter "to Botonio to take his exile patiently," which is a translation from Plutarch upon exile.

This first part of Euphues—"Euphues; or, the Anatomy of Wit," published in 1579—is a complete work. The second part,

"*Euphues and his England*,"

published in 1580, may, as before said, have been modified in treatment and designed to mitigate some of the severity of the first, which had given offence at Oxford. He would indirectly deprecate, in courtly fashion, a too ruinous interpretation of his meaning. Lyly had satisfied his conscience; he now satisfied the Court. He had ended the first part with an intimation that Euphues was about to visit England, and promised, within one summer, a report of what he saw.

In his second part, therefore, Euphues, bringing Philautus with him, lands at Dover, after telling a long moral story on the sea. The two strangers pass through Canterbury, and are entertained in a roadside house by a retired courtier. This personage keeps bees and philosophises over them; from him we hear the lengthy story of his love, enriched with numerous conceited conversations. In London the travellers lodge with a merchant, and are admitted to the intimacy of a lady named Camilla, who is courted and who finally is married, though she is below his rank, by noble Surius. With Camilla and the ladies who are her friends, the strangers converse much in courtly fashion. Philautus of course falls in love with her, and worries her with letters; but he is at last led by Flavia, a prudent matron, to the possession of a wife in the young lady Violet. Every Englishwoman is fair, wise, and good. Nothing is wrong in England; or whatever is wrong, Lyly satirises with exaggerated praise. The story is full of covert satire, and contains much evidence of religious earnestness. It is designedly enriched with love-tales, letters between lovers, and

ingenious examples of those fanciful conflicts of wit in argument upon some courtly theme, to which fine ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's Court formally sat down as children now sit down to a round game of forfeits. Having saved to the last a panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth, which blends an ounce of flattery with certainly a pound of solid praise in its regard for her as the mainstay of the Protestant faith, Euphues retires to Athens, where, he says, "Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silixedra, Philautus is married in the Isle of England: two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs."

After a few more words, Lyly parted from his readers by committing them to the Almighty.

Such were the times wherein Spenser and Shakespeare grew to their full powers: Spenser representing England with its religious sense of duty combative, bitterly combative, in all the struggle of the time; Shakespeare enabled by that English earnestness to speak through highest poetry the highest truth, to shape in immortal forms the very spirit which we lose too often while we fight to make it ours.

Let us now turn again from the spirit to the form of Lyly's "Euphues," in which he so exactly caught and perfected the fashionable way of speech that the book was regarded in its own time as a model, and from its title the term "Euphuism" was formed to represent that dainty way of speaking.

Euphuism.

The style of "Euphues" was an outcome of the revival of the study of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of the Greek and Latin works upon the art of speaking. Strain for a fine rhetoric began at the Courts of Italy, and spread among courtiers in other lands, not in the first instance as a way of writing, but as a way of refined speech. Witty and witless man alike laboured hard to crimp his thoughts into such form that Cicero himself might, if he came by, say *Loquitur pulchre!* George Pettie, who, in his "Pettie Palace," discoursed clear Euphuism a little earlier

than Euphues, was careful to claim for his rhetoric that it was not shaped by labour of the pen. Pettie wrote, in preface, "to R. B. concerning this work," that he had "set down in writing and according to your request sent unto you certain of those Tragical trifles which you have heard me in sundry companies at sundry times report; and, so near as I could, I have written them word for word as I then told them." R. B. also assured "the gentle gentlewomen readers" that the tales are reported in a manner extempore, as I myself for divers of them am able to testifie." Lyly shows, in "Euphues and his England," how young gentlemen and ladies in Elizabeth's time set themselves some matter of debate for exercise, after supper, of their ingenuity in wit and rhetoric.

Here was the source of an overstrained use of the various figures of words set forth in the books of rhetoric—third science in the trivium—which throughout Europe followed logic in the ordinary studies of a university. Lyly's "Euphues," by its ingenious union of what has been called "transverse alliteration" with antithesis, enriched the courtly style, it was supposed, with one gift more for those with ready wit enough to add it to their other graces.

Bearing in mind the distinction between Tropes—by which words or phrases are converted from one sense into another for the sake of emphasis—and Figures of Speech that concern only variations in the manner of presenting words—gestures of language, as Quintilian said they might be called,—we may say that the characteristics of Lyly's Euphuism are to be found in the joining of a system of alliteration to a strained and continuous use of some of these figures of speech. It was Later Euphuism that transferred the strain to metaphor.

In a paper "On Euphuism," read before the Philological Society in 1871, Dr. Richard F. Weymouth was the first who took the trouble to reduce to an exact formula the style

of "Euphues." The figure of speech most used is antithesis—the opposition of words or conceptions in sentences placed side by side. Quintilian, who calls it "comparatio," gives an example from Cicero's speech, Pro Muræna: "You rise before daybreak, that you may be ready for your clients; he, that he may reach his destination betimes with his army. You, the crowing of the cock awakes; him the blast of the trumpets." Such a style Aristotle calls pleasing, "because contraries are most easily apprehended, and when set side by side they become still easier of apprehension, and because they bear a resemblance to a reasoning process. . . . Such is antithesis; but a balancing occurs where the clauses are equal." This opposition and balancing of words in equal clauses, adjective to adjective, noun to noun, adverb to adverb, verb to verb, runs through all "Euphues."

It was a trick easily acquired by practice, and was, doubtless, in high favour as a part of courtly speech. There was much of it in the orations of the ancients, from whom it was first imitated, then exaggerated to an antic fashion. Even Ascham used this figure a little freely in his own plain scholarly English. It may be observed in his description of Euphues, already quoted. The books were in most favour that most abounded in it, like the writings of the Spanish bishop and imperial historiographer, Antonio de Guevara.*

Another figure of speech easily introduced into colloquial rhetoric, and largely used by Lyly, was the form of a string of questions and answers to represent processes of thought. But Lyly and some of his English contemporaries added a new element, in a more artful system of alliteration than the mere pairing of nouns with adjectives that had the same first letter, a trick in which all dainty speakers were expert; for hundreds of such combinations—

* "E. W." vii. 282.

old and well accepted forms of diction—lay at all times ready to their hands. Any polite speaker could also, now and then, run his alliteration along half a dozen words, as Lyly now and then does; for example, when he writes, "Yet doth he use me as the mean to move the matter, and as the man to make his mirror"; or, "Farewell, therefore, the fine and filed phrase." The particular ingenuity of Euphuism in this respect was, as Dr. Weymouth described it, combination of alliteration with antithesis, "making the corresponding words in the same clauses begin with the same letter. It is, so to speak, a transverse alliteration rather than longitudinal," as in the balanced clauses, "I shall have thee not only a comfort in my life, but also a companion in my love"; or in the antithesis, "The faith of men, though it fry in their words, it freezeth in their works." Lyly, also, as Dr. Weymouth points out, liked to equalise three or more clauses of a sentence, usually three. This was done after a fashion that pleased writers of much later date, and in these cases he did not strain for alliteration. Such a construction is shown in the sentence, "I would have them nurtured in such a place as is renowned for learning, void of corrupt manners, undefiled with vice." All play of wit was, of course, welcome for advancement of a style that was to mark the polished speaker by its ingenuity of verbal address, and of letter-writing, which stood next to speech as a courtly conversation by the pen.

But there was little use of trope in the prose Euphuism of Lyly's time. That form of rhetoric belonged to poetry, where it was used by Lyly himself simply and wittily, without any of the laboured balancing of clauses in a sentence that would be unsuited to metrical expression. The earlier Euphuism concerned our prose; the later Euphuism, of which we shall have afterwards to speak, concerned our poetry. They were alike in aim, but different in kind, and followed one another elsewhere as they did in England.

Contemporary with prose Euphuism, there is, in verse, a quickened pleasure in ingenious conceits, by way of trope and metaphor. This had advanced and spread since it was developed, mainly out of Petrarch, by the courtly makers of Italy in the days of the Medici. It had gained strength in England from the examples given in that way by Surrey and Wyatt, and it acquired fresh vigour, without loss of grace, in the best days of Elizabeth. But in Lyly's elaborated prose, and that of others in his time who sought to add new daintiness to the practised courtier's way of speech, there was a large use of illustrations akin to simile—not metaphors at all—which were derived chiefly from the familiar stores of classical mythology and history, and from strange properties of animals, plants, stones, recorded in the Natural History of Pliny. Such lore then represented undeveloped knowledge of the secrets of Nature. Science had slept for centuries where she had been left by the ancients, and within another thirty years would begin among Englishmen her wondrous march to victories more marvellous than any of the fables that John Lyly used for the adornment of his writing—

> "Talking of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,
> Playing with words and idle similies,"

as Drayton said of him.

In 1881, Dr. Landmann presented to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Giessen, as his Inaugural Dissertation for the Doctor's degree, a very able paper upon Euphuism.* It was a study of Lyly's Euphuism in its place in English literature, based on well-directed reading, with some trifling and inevitable rashness of opinion in judgment

* "Der Euphuismus, sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Englischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Inaugural Dissertation der Philosophischen Facultät der Universität Giessen zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doktorwürde vorgelegt von Friedrich Landmann. . Giessen, 1881."

of the character of new acquaintances. But the great feature of Dr. Landmann's thesis was the perfectly new argument that the source of Euphuism was in the writings of Guevara. It invented the word Guevarism as a parallel to Euphuism, and tried to show that the terms were almost convertible. Dr. Landmann was himself strongly convinced; but his evidence does not support his view. His argument is based upon the fact that Guevara used the rhetorical figures of antithesis and balanced clauses, question and answer, very constantly; that, like Lyly, he was moral and sententious; that, like Lyly, he made much use of the moral essays of Plutarch; that he was much admired and was much translated in England; that Lyly read him, liked him, and occasionally borrowed matter from him. This is all true. But Dr. Landmann accepts Dr. Weymouth's discrimination of the characteristics of Euphuism, and the pieces he has quoted from Guevara's Spanish text in evidence that Lyly did get his Euphuism therefrom prove that he did not. Guevara made so little use of alliteration, that where it occurs it seems to have come in by accident. Of the characteristic blending of transverse alliteration with antithesis there is in Guevara nothing. There is only an extreme example of the courtly style in the continuous use of two or three figures of speech derived from rhetoric of the ancients, upon which, since the days of the Medici, fine gentlemen in all the Courts of Europe had been trying their skill. Had the style of Lyly been that of Guevara, we never should have heard of Euphuism, though Lyly would have been praised for his art in the development of courtly rhetoric. All the polite would have admired his style, as it admired Guevara's.

Euphuism was a new adornment of the over-adorned method of speech by courtiers who had to show their parts. Books were the source to them of little facts for use by the ingenious maker of phrases. They must have been often read for the mere search after facts that could be used

cleverly; and, as moralising was in fashion, wise thoughts could be selected out of Plutarch's essays. The style of "Euphues," as of Pettie's "Pettie Palace," was marked by the grafting of a new artifice—not in Cicero, not in Guevara—upon the courtly way of speech that had been based, under the influence of the great classical revival, upon that rhetoric of the ancients which followed logic in the teaching at the universities. It was an outcome of elaborated talk, to which it at once furnished a new income; so that Edward Blount, when he edited Lyly's plays in 1632, said "that beauty in court which could not parley Euphuism, was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French." *

* Lyly's "Euphues" and "Euphues and his England," exactly printed from the first edition of each book and collated with other early editions, form one of the volumes of "English Reprints" by Professor Arber, whose edition was first published in 1868. These reprints are to be obtained by application to Professor Arber, 34, Wheeley's Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

CHAPTER X.

CHURCH MILITANT.

CHURCH REFORM, after settlement of the Act of Uniformity and consecration of Protestant bishops in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, was proceeded with in the Convocation that met in January, 1562, the day after the meeting of her second Parliament. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was Prolocutor, and one part of the work of Convocation was revision of the Articles that were to represent the Church's faith. Their number was reduced from Forty-two to Thirty-nine, and the revision finished on the thirty-first of January, 1562. By February, 1563, they had been subscribed to by all members of Convocation, but they did not become law until nine years afterwards, when general subscription was required, and it was to be not later than Christmas, 1571.

Church Reform: Articles of Faith.

After the settlement of Articles of Faith, the next matter for discussion was the settlement of Rites and Ceremonies, when it appeared that a majority of clergy present supported the desire for abrogation of saints' days, and for omission of the sign of the cross in baptism, because it favoured superstition. They desired, also, that the ministers in churches should face the people, and be required to wear no other vestment than a gown; that the people should not be absolutely required to kneel in receiving sacrament — this being left to the

Rites and Ceremonies.

discretion of the minister;—and that the use of organs be abandoned.

The strength of the desire to make the separation from old forms as complete in England as it was already in the reformed Churches of the Continent, is shown by the fact that among those present in Convocation thirty-five were opposed to these changes and forty-three supported them, including Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor. But the counting of proxies from those clergymen who were not present brought the numbers up to fifty-eight on one side and fifty-nine on the other, gaining thus, by help of absentees, a majority of only one for the retention of those ceremonies against which the Puritans continued to protest.

Church Catechism.

Dean Nowell was the reviser of the larger Catechism of the Church of England as accepted by the Lower House of Convocation, and separately published in 1570. The shorter Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer was first put forth in the reign of Edward VI. It was probably—not certainly—the work of Cranmer and Ridley, and there were some changes made in it between 1549 and 1561.

The Question of Apparel.

After 1562, there was great dispute raised by the resolve to enforce unity of apparel among the clergy, through consent of all to wear the vestments that had been customary when the Church of England was the Church of Rome. There was a strong resistance by the men who said, "We do not place religion in habits, but we oppose them that do." A hundred of the London clergy, brought together in 1565, were shown the pattern of the vestments they should wear, and it was bidden that each of them, without argument, should sign his name to a plain *volo* or *nolo*—I will, or I will not. Thirty-seven who wrote *nolo* were suspended from their functions, with warning that if they did not conform within three months they would be deprived.

The First Nonconformists.

They issued a small treatise called "A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the City of London, which have refused to wear the upper apparel and ministering garments of the Pope's Church."

Upon this followed a little war of pamphlets that produced a decree of Star Chamber, dated the twenty-ninth of June, 1566, forbidding anyone to print or publish any book against Her Majesty's injunctions, ordinances, or letters patent, under penalties set forth, and giving right of search for such books to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company. The suspended ministers resolved that they would not conform to Roman ceremonial, would sacrifice their livings, and preach as they could in private houses. At the same time they agreed that they would use in their worship the Geneva Service-book, in place of the English liturgy. So the first stone was laid of the new edifice of Nonconformity.

Even the venerable Miles Coverdale was made to feel the change of times. He had assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, by virtue of the Bishopric of Exeter that he had held in the reign of Edward VI. But he did not return to his bishopric under Elizabeth. He was made a Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1563, and Grindal gave him the living of St. Magnus, by London Bridge. In 1564, he made a book of "The Letters of Saints and Martyrs," and in 1566 he was among the London clergy who were deprived, because he would not wear the vestments that had been associated with the ceremonial of the Church of Rome. He preached where he could, reverenced by the people, during the remaining months of his life, and died at the age of eighty-one in February, 1568.

Miles Coverdale.

Then came, in 1569, rebellion of Roman Catholics in the North, and in February, 1570, excommunication of the Queen of England by Pope Pius V.

The cause of the Puritans gained strength within the University of Cambridge, and found in Thomas Cartwright a strong advocate. He came, when very young, from Hertfordshire to Cambridge, and entered Clare Hall as a sizar in November, 1547. He was admitted a scholar of St. John's College in 1550, and was so eager a student, chiefly of divinity, that in his college days, and afterwards through life, he is said to have allowed himself only five hours a night for sleep; but as he lived almost to the age of seventy, there may have been forty winks omitted from that reckoning. Under Queen Mary, Thomas Cartwright was obliged to quit the university because he would not conform to Catholic doctrines, and he then acted as clerk to a counsellor-at-law. He returned to Cambridge after the accession of Elizabeth, commenced M.A. in 1560, and in April of that year obtained a Fellowship of St. John's College on the Lady Margaret's foundation. By 1564 he had become one of the Senior Fellows of Trinity. He was famous in the university for the depth of his theological studies, his skill in disputation, and his eloquence in preaching. When he preached at Great St. Mary's, the windows were taken out, that those might hear him who had not been able to find room in the church. In 1565, when the question of clerical apparel had grown urgent, three sermons of Cartwright's caused three hundred of the Fellows and Scholars of St. John's to attend the college chapel without surplices, and soon afterwards the example was followed at Trinity, where also Cartwright's influence was very great.

Thomas Cartwright.

In the same year, 1565, Adam Loftus, another Fellow of Trinity, who was among Cartwright's friends, went to Ireland as Archbishop of Armagh, and he took Cartwright with him as his chaplain. Cartwright was away, therefore, in the difficult year 1566, when some of the London clergy were ejected from their livings. In 1567 he returned to Cambridge, and in 1569 Thomas Cartwright was made Lady

Margaret Professor of Divinity. From his chair as professor he now formally taught those principles of the Constitution of a Christian Church which he taught also from the pulpit of St. Mary's, taking larger ground than the mere question of vestments in developing and enforcing the whole Puritan conception of a Church.

John Whitgift then came forward as Cartwright's opponent, and preached sermons from the same pulpit in answer to him. That is the John Whitgift whom we shall meet again when he becomes the third and last of Queen Elizabeth's Archbishops of Canterbury.

John Whitgift, born in 1530, was the eldest of five sons of an unprosperous trader at Great Grimsby. He was first taught by an uncle Robert, who was Abbot of the Monastery of Wellow, near Grimsby. His uncle found him scholarly, and sent him to St. Anthony's School, in London. There he boarded in St. Paul's Churchyard, with an aunt who was wife of a verger of St. Paul's. From St. Anthony's School John Whitgift went to Cambridge, first to Queen's College, then to Pembroke Hall, where Ridley, who was Master then, knowing his narrow means, gave him a scholarship, and John Bradford, the martyr, was one of his tutors. John Whitgift graduated as B.A. in 1553. In May, 1555, he obtained a Fellowship at Peterhouse. He graduated as M.A. in 1557. In 1560 he was ordained, was made chaplain to Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, and was presented by Cox to the rectory of Teversham, in Cambridgeshire. He proceeded as B.D. in 1563, and in the same year was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. John Whitgift.

In 1567, Matthew Hutton resigned his office of Master of Pembroke Hall, after being appointed Dean of York, where he was afterwards archbishop. Hutton's successor as Master of Pembroke Hall was Whitgift, appointed on the twenty-first of April; and on the fourth of the next July Whitgift became

Master of Trinity College. In the same year he was created D.D., maintaining on that occasion for his thesis that the Pope is Antichrist. In the same year, also, he was made Regius Professor of Divinity, preached before the queen, and was sworn one of her chaplains. At the close of the next year, Whitgift obtained a canonry in the church of Ely. In November, 1569, he resigned the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and in November, 1570, he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University. In June, 1571, Whitgift was elected Dean of Lincoln, and in October of that year Archbishop Parker granted a faculty enabling him to hold with his Deanery the Mastership of Trinity, his canonry at Ely, his rectory of Teversham, and any other benefice. He was a good and able man, whose opinions on Church matters agreed very strongly with those of the queen and of her archbishop and Privy Council. He rose, therefore, to power, and was made Bishop of Worcester in 1577.

The Controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift.

In 1570, when Thomas Cartwright was a candidate for the degree of D.D., opposition was raised at headquarters, and the degree was refused him. Reconstitution of the university by statutes which increased the power of the heads enabled Whitgift, who had not prevailed in the pulpit duel, to deprive Cartwright, in December, 1570, of his appointment as Lady Margaret Professor, and in the following September, 1571, he found an excuse for depriving him also of his Fellowship of Trinity.

Then Cartwright left Cambridge, and went for a time to Geneva. He returned to England in November, 1572, a month after John Field, the minister of Aldermary Church, London, and Thomas Wilcox, another London clergyman, had been committed to Newgate for presenting "An Admonition to the Parliament," with reasons for the reformation of Church discipline.

In the Parliament convened in 1571, which passed the

Act "For Reformation of Disorders in Ministers of the Church," an old gentleman, Mr. Strickland, had offered a Bill for further reformation, and had spoken in its support, desiring alterations in ceremonial; but he was officially told that "all matters of ceremonial were to be referred to the Queen, and for the House to meddle with the Queen's prerogative was not convenient." The queen also sent for Mr. Strickland, and forbade him the Parliament House; but, as this excited question, she restored him to his seat after a short time of suspension. When the next Parliament met, in May, 1572, Sir Nicholas Bacon opened it with a speech in the queen's name, recommending the Houses to see that the laws relating to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church were put in due execution. That Parliament introduced two Bills, of which one sought to heal the wounds of the Puritans. They passed the Commons smoothly, and were referred to a Committee of both Houses. Then the queen sent to inform the House of Commons that it was henceforth to receive no Bills concerning religion until they had been considered and approved by the bishops or the clergy in Convocation. She required that the two Bills should be sent to her. Having received them, she declared that she disliked them utterly, and did not send them back. Upon this there was some free speaking, and Peter Wentworth was sent to the Tower for declaring that the right beginning of reformation in religion had been with the Parliament. Few laws for religion, he said, had their foundations from bishops, and he surely thought that bishops were the cause of the queen's doleful message. It was then that the Puritan clergy of London, despairing of help from the queen or from the bishops, resolved to appeal to Parliament, and the two ministers, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, having written in the name of all who were deprived for their dissent from a retention of what they considered to be Popish ceremonial, went themselves before the House

of Commons to present their "Admonition to the Parliament." They were sent to Newgate for so doing, about a month before Cartwright's return to England. Thomas Cartwright at once proceeded to maintain their cause with "A Second Admonition to the Parliament," in sixty-four pages, with a preface. It was promptly supported by a pamphlet of twelve leaves, containing two letters, one an "Exhortation to the Bishops to deal Brotherly with their Brethren"; the other inviting them to answer Cartwright's little book.

Whitgift replied to both the "Admonitions," with an "Answere to a certen Libel, intituled an Admonition to Parliament." This was a quarto of more than two hundred and fifty pages, published in 1572.

Cartwright published, in 1573, "A Replye to an Answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte agaynst the Admonition to Parliament." This was a quarto of two hundred and twenty-four pages.

Whitgift answered again, in 1574, with "The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T. C." This was a folio of eight hundred and twelve pages, with thirty-two pages of preface and supplement.

Cartwright answered again, in 1575, with "The Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright against Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second Answere touching the Churche Discipline." This was a quarto of six hundred and sixty-six pages, followed, in 1577, by "The rest of the second Replie of Thomas Cartwright agaynst Master Doctor Whitgift's second Answer touching the Churche Discipline." This made the whole number of pages given to Cartwright's second reply a little over nine hundred and thirty.

That exhaustive controversy between the ablest advocate of the Puritan view of Church discipline, and one of the chief supporters of Queen Elizabeth's Church policy—both men of high character, much learning, and fervent zeal—

gave the whole case on each side. The causes of the separation that broke the dream of unity in the Reformed Church of England are to be found in our literature, so fully stated in these volumes that whoever studies them can be as well informed as any Englishman then living. We have in them the never-ending action and reaction of the two opposing forms of thought. Whitgift's bias was Conservative, and Cartwright's that of the Reformer. The end of their controversy is not yet, though many now think they can tell what it will be.

He was a bold man who, in Elizabeth's reign, dared to conceive a system under which good Christians might agree to differ. This possibility was first conceived, although imperfectly, by Robert Browne, who in 1579 was a young man about thirty years old, deeply religious, and then beginning to act upon ideas of Church government so peculiar to himself that his followers, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, were known as "Brownists." They grew afterwards into the great body of the Independents, as distinguished from the Presbyterians, who took their doctrine and Church constitution from Geneva.

Robert Browne.

Robert Browne was of a good old family at Tolethorpe, in Rutland, and had Sir William Cecil for a kinsman. He went to Cambridge, and was of Corpus Christi College when he graduated as a Bachelor of Arts, in 1572. He went afterwards to London, opened a school, and preached in the fields at Islington on Sundays. In 1578 the Plague was in London, and his father called him home to Tolethorpe. Then he left home again to return to the neighbourhood of Cambridge, where he lived with the Rector of Dry Drayton, Richard Greenham. He was not hindered from preaching in the villages without a licence. His eloquence and piety obtained for him the cure of a parish in Cambridge, which he held for a few months and then left, returning what was

paid to him. His brother obtained for him, from the Bishop of Ely, the requisite licence to preach, in two documents, of which Robert Browne lost one and burnt the other. He objected to ordination and to the whole system of Episcopacy. Each congregation, he thought, was to be regarded as an independent church of worshippers, and they chose for themselves the preacher of whom they thought that God had made him fit to help them on the way to Heaven. If Robert Browne had any distinct views of the fellowship that should unite the Churches, in his young days he seems to have expressed himself with undue passion against Prelacy. But his attack was on the bishops' claim of power to force conscience.

We may pass now to the queen's relations with the second of her three archbishops, Edmund Grindal, for whom, in the time of his disgrace at Court, young Edmund Spenser, in his "Shepherd's Calendar"—his first book, published in 1579—dared to speak boldly.

Edmund Grindal, born in 1519, had been in 1550 chaplain to Ridley. In 1553 he fled from Mary to Strasburg. In 1558 he was one of those who drew up the new Liturgy. In 1559 he was made Master of Pembroke Hall, Spenser's own college, and Bishop of London. In 1570 he became Archbishop of York, and in 1575 succeeded Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury. He used his influence in the Church to increase the number and efficiency of those whom he looked upon as faithful preachers, and he refused livings to those whom he did not find learned and able. The particular cause of his unpopularity at Court was his encouragement of what were called "prophesyings" for the higher education of the clergy in the duties of their office. The word "prophesying" was used with the sense of interpretation of the Scriptures given to it in St. Paul's Epistles. Such meetings of the clergy, for the purpose of interpreting difficult

Edmund Grindal.

passages, or considering how to explain clearly and rightly passages that might raise question among their flocks, had sprung up in several parts of England, especially Northamptonshire, when Grindal used his influence to encourage them. The custom was that the ministers within a precinct met on a week-day in some principal town, where there was some ancient grave minister that was president, and an auditory admitted of gentlemen or other persons of leisure. Then every minister successively, beginning at the youngest, did handle one and the same part of Scripture, spending severally some quarter of an hour or better, and in the whole some two hours. And so the exercise being begun and concluded with prayer, and the president giving a text for the next meeting, the assembly was dissolved. Archbishop Grindal thought these meetings serviceable, and believed that the mismanagement accidental to them might be readily avoided. Queen Elizabeth held that they encouraged novelty, caused people to ramble in their fancy, and neglect their affairs. She told Grindal that there was too much discussing and explaining; it would put an end to unity of opinion. She would have no more prophesyings; as for preachers, there were by far too many, three or four in a county would suffice; and the authorised Homilies were to be read instead of original sermons. That was the only way to keep the people of one mind. The First Book of Homilies, issued in 1547, was adopted by Elizabeth in 1559, and enlarged with a Second Book in 1563. Grindal replied in a letter loyal to the queen, but loyal also to his conscience. He argued to her from Scripture that the Gospel should be plentifully preached; met the objections to the prophesyings; declared that Scripture and experience showed them to be profitable; and said: "I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess that I cannot with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the

said exercises; much less can I send out my injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, 'I have no power to destroy, but only to edify'; and with the same apostle, 'I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.' If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. . . . Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." In June, 1577, Grindal was, for this persistence in what he believed to be his highest duty, by order of the Privy Council, confined to his house and sequestered for six months. Lord Burghley instructed him how he was to make formal submission to the queen. He did not make it. There was question of depriving him, but for that he was too popular with a large section of the clergy and the people. Nevertheless, he remained under sequestration. At a Convocation in the following year, 1580, the archbishop being still under sequestration, Aylmer presided. Some of the clergy were unwilling to proceed to business without the archbishop, and a petition was sent to the queen, also a letter signed by twelve bishops, both without effect. Grindal at this time was becoming blind. At last, it has been said, being really blind, more with grief than age, he was willing to put off his clothes before he went to bed, and in his lifetime to resign his place to Dr. Whitgift, who refused such acceptance thereof. And the queen, commiserating his condition, was graciously pleased to say that as she had made him, so he should die, an archbishop; as he did, on the sixth of July, 1583.

CHAPTER XI.

LAST YEARS OF JOHN KNOX.—GEORGE BUCHANAN.

JOHN KNOX printed his "First Book of Discipline, to a Convention of the Three Estates," at the beginning of the year 1561, and delivered his soul against attendance at mass by the nineteen-year-old Queen Mary, who in that year came to Edinburgh as the widow of King Francis II. He preached actively as minister of the town of Edinburgh, which was all one parish. His first wife had died at the end of the year 1560, leaving him with two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar. One of those boys was seven and the other six years old in 1564, when Knox took for his second wife Margaret Stewart, daughter of Andrew Lord Ochiltree. During this time he was writing his most important book, a "Historie of the Reformation in Scotland." The book was begun in 1559 or 1560. The chief part of it seems to have been written in 1566, probably after the murder of Rizzio, when Knox retired to Kyle. It was not published in his lifetime. John Knox.

On the nineteenth of June in the year 1566, James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, was born in Edinburgh Castle.

In the following December Knox visited his sons, who were in England with relatives of their mother's. They were educated in England, and afterwards became Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1567, on the tenth of February, Henry Lord Darnley was murdered. On the

twenty-fourth of the following April, Bothwell carried off Queen Mary to Dunbar Castle; on the fifteenth of May they were married. On the fifteenth of June, Queen Mary was brought to Edinburgh, and afterwards imprisoned at Lochleven. On the twenty-ninth of July, in the year 1567, Knox preached on the coronation of the infant James a sermon on the text, "I was crowned young." James Earl of Moray was appointed regent on the twenty-second of the next month, August. On the fifteenth of December, Knox preached at the opening of the Scottish Parliament, which five days afterwards solemnly ratified the Confession of Faith framed and approved by Parliament in 1560. On the second of May in the next year, 1568, Queen Mary escaped from Lochleven, failed with the Scots, fled to England, and was for the remaining eighteen years of her life in the custody of Queen Elizabeth.

In October, 1570, Knox had a stroke of apoplexy, from which he recovered. But his health was broken, and, in 1572, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew strongly affected him. He delivered his soul on that crime from the pulpit in one of his last utterances. He died in the same year, on the twenty-fourth of November, at the age of sixty-seven.

History of the Reformation in Scotland.

That Knox, very soon after his coming to Scotland in May, 1559, resolved not only to work for Reformation, but to leave for after-times a record of the work, is shown by a letter of his, dated at Edinburgh on the twenty-third of October, 1559. He speaks in it of just requests "which ye shall, God willing, shortly hereafter onderstand, together with our whole proceeding from the beginning of this matter, which we ar to sett forth in maner of Historie." A letter written a month earlier by the English Ambassador to Cecil shows that Knox had even then begun to carry out his purpose. The report is: "I have tawlked at large with Mr. Knox concerning his Hystorie. As mykle as is written thereof

shall be sent to your Honour. . . . He hath wrytten only one book. . . . He sayethe, that he must have farther help than is to be had in this countrie, for more assured knowledge of thyngs passed than he hath himself, or can come bye here." What had then been written was part of the Second Book, where also there is no want of internal evidence as to the date of the writing; indeed, in one passage, when Knox is speaking of Lord David Hamilton's being "in strait prisoun," he adds, "quhair he yitt remaneis, to witt, in the moneth of October, the yeir of God, 1559."

Knox's first intention was to tell of the work of Reformation from the year 1558 to the coming of Queen Mary from France, in August, 1561. But he prefixed afterwards, as a general introduction, what is now the First Book, chiefly written in 1566, with a sketch of events concerning Church Reformation from the burning of Patrick Hamilton in 1527 to 1558, and some preceding detail of articles set forth in 1494 by reformers who were known as the Lollards of Kyle. This he took from the records of Glasgow. Knox was led also, in 1566, to continue his narrative in a Fourth Book, as far as the year 1564. The Third Book had been followed by a full copy of the Reformer's 'Buke of Discipline,' inserted, says Knox, "to the end that the Posterities to come may juge alsweill quhat the warldlingis refûsed, as quhat Policie the godlie Ministeris requyred." Knox wrote the whole of his Fourth Book in 1566.

There was added afterwards, by another writer, a Fifth Book, of which no manuscript is known, and which was first published in 1644 by David Buchanan,* added in a folio to

* This edition of Knox's "History of the Reformation," published in the year of Milton's "Areopagitica," was doubtless alluded to by Milton in that "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing": "If the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, come to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous

the authentic four. David Buchanan said that all was "gathered out of Knox's Papers and Manuscripts." Probably the Fifth Book does contain gatherings from Knox, but it was put together after Knox's death; and for what part of it we are indebted to Knox, for what part to David Buchanan or some unknown writer, it is not possible to say. It continues Knox's narrative from September, 1564, to August, 1567, when the Earl of Moray became regent.

Other Writings.

Knox's other writings were all, in like manner, a part of his active life. There remain from him, besides "The First Blast of the Trumpet," * apostolic epistles, public letters of wholesome counsel, private letters, prayers, a few sermons, and one long work, published in 1560, as "An Answer to the Cavillations of an Adversary respecting the Doctrine of Predestination." This is a large piece of the divinity of the time, addressed to the impugners of Calvin's views touching Election and Predestination. But the Church of Geneva was not sure that even Knox, who could have views of his own, would maintain Calvin's doctrine at all points with technical precision. When, therefore, the request was made that the work might

edge . . . though it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash." David Buchanan's was the first full issue of Knox's "History," preceded only by Vautrollier's attempt in 1587. Thomas Vautrollier, a French printer who came to England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, went to Edinburgh in 1584, and printed several works there. In 1586 he returned to London with a manuscript of Knox's "History of the Reformation," and printed 1,200 copies in small 8vo., as far as the fifth chapter of "The Book of Discipline," appended to the Third Book of the "History." By the command of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, they were seized by the Stationers' Company, on the eighteenth of February, 1587. It was hoped that the printer might get leave to proceed again, because this book would serve to bring the Queen of Scots into detestation. But her execution followed presently, and in 1588 the printer died. A few unfinished copies of the Fourth Book did, however, find their way into circulation.

* "E.W." viii. 180.

be printed at Geneva, licence was given on condition that the book should not have "Imprinted at Geneva" on its title-page.

What John Knox thought of his friend George Buchanan we read in the First Book of his "Historie of the Reformation," where he tells, under the year 1540, of James V., who had "given himself to obey the tyranny of those bloody beasts," the persecutors, that, in spite of many warnings, "in the myddest of these admonitionis he caused putt handis in that notable man, Maister George Balquhannan, to whome, for his singulare eruditioun and honest behaveour, was committed the charge to instruct some of his bastard children. Butt, by the mercifull providence of God, he eschaped (albeit with great difficultie) the rage of these that sought his blood, and remanes alyve to this day, in the yeare of God J^m^ V^c^ threescor sax yearis" (1566) "to the glorie of God, to the great honour of his natioun, and unto the comforte of those that delite in letteris and vertew. That singulare werke of Davide his Psalmes in Latine meter and poesie, besydis many utheris, cane witness the rare graces of God geven to that man, which that tyrant, by instigatioun of the Gray Frearis, and of his other flatteraris, wold altogether have devored yf God had not providit remeady to his servand by eschaping." George Buchanan.

George Buchanan, who was born in February, 1506, died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1581. Thomas Buchanan, his father, had a little farm and a thatched cottage on the banks of the River Blane, about two miles from Killearn, in Stirlingshire. He married Agnes Heriot, and died leaving her ill provided for, with four sons and three daughters, when her son George was about seven years old. George Buchanan made such progress in the schools near home that his mother's brother, James Heriot, sent him, when in his fourteenth year, to the University of Paris. The

close ties between Scotland and France, established for their common defence against English invasion, made the going of Scotch boys to Paris customary. After he had been two years in Paris, chiefly studying Latin and acquiring skill in the Latin versification through which afterwards he proved his powers as a poet, the death of his uncle Heriot called George Buchanan back to Scotland. His health, also, never strong, was suffering. He rested at home till he joined the gathering of Scottish forces on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh, and marched with them, in 1523, to the Border, where they were to resist threatened invasion; but they would not march into England and repeat the mistake that had caused the disaster of Flodden.

In the spring of 1525, Buchanan went to St. Andrew's, where the two years at Paris were recognised, and in the next October he could take his degree as Bachelor of Arts. John Major, who was teaching at St. Andrew's in the session taken there by George Buchanan, went back at the end of the same year to teach in Paris at the College Montaigu. In the summer of 1526, Buchanan also returned to Paris, and there struggled with poverty for the next two years as a bursar in the university. In 1529, having graduated as Master of Arts, Buchanan was qualified to teach, and he became a regent in the College of Ste. Barbe.

Buchanan left Ste. Barbe about the year 1532, to become tutor to the young Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, then about sixteen years old. It was for this pupil that he printed, in 1533, a translation into Latin of Linacre's Rudiments of Grammar. The young earl remained Buchanan's pupil till he reached the age of twenty-one.

In 1535 Buchanan returned to Scotland with his pupil, and presently amused himself by paraphrasing into Latin Dunbar's poem on his dream that the devil came to him in the form of Saint Francis, vainly urging on him the Franciscan habit. The piece, entitled

Satires on the Franciscans.

Somnium,* is at the close of the collection of Latin verses called *Fratres Fraterrimi*, and it is there followed by two Palinodes, in which the satire is as sharp. He puts double scorn into the terms of a recantation made after being whipped by a demoniacal crew of Franciscans, grey as asses, men with more hair on their eyebrows than their chins.

When the young Earl of Cassillis ceased to be his pupil, George Buchanan was appointed by King James V.—himself then only twenty-four years old—to educate one of his bastard sons. Care of this child, Lord James Stewart, brought Buchanan into relations with the Court. The king enjoyed the satire on Franciscans in the transformation of Dunbar's poem into Buchanan's *Somnium*. The Franciscans were indignant; says Buchanan, they did not like having their skin pulled off. The king was pleased and asked for more. This caused Buchanan to write the "Palinodes." The king then urged him to still greater severity, and he

* Beginning—

"Mane sub auroram nitidæ vicinia lucis
Pallida venturo cum facit astra die:
Arctior irriguos somnus complectitur artus,
Demulcens placido languida membra sinu:
Cum mihi Franciscus nodosa cannabe cinctus,
Astitit ante torum stigmata nota gerens.
In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus
Palla fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber:
Et mihi subridens, Hanc, protinus indue, dixit,
Et mea dehinc mundi transfuga castra subi."

Buchanan, however, gives only the invitation of Saint Francis and the reason for refusing; such as

"Qui feret hanc, fallat, palpet, pro tempore fingat:
At me simplicitas, nudaque vita placet,"

and the suggestion from Dunbar, "At mihi da mitram, purpureamque togam"; but his St. Francis does not prove to be the devil, and some homely touches are omitted that would please the scholar more in Scottish than in Latin.

began to elaborate his *Franciscanus*, which was not finished until 1564, when it became a highly finished satire in about nine hundred and fifty lines.

In 1539 Cardinal Beaton was actively proceeding against heretics. Five Lutherans were burnt. The satirist of the Franciscans was seized and imprisoned, escaped through a window of his prison, made his way through the thieves on the Border to the plague then raging in the north of England, and found a haven in the house of Sir John Rainsford. Then he returned to Paris, but found Cardinal Beaton there, and gladly accepted an invitation to Bordeaux from André de Gouvéa. This good scholar from Portugal had known Buchanan when he was regent at Ste. Barbe, and had been fellow regent with him under Jacques de Gouvéa, André's uncle. André de Gouvéa had become principal of the newly founded Collége de Guyenne, established at Bordeaux in 1533. There George Buchanan taught from 1539 to 1542, and Montaigne was, for a time, one of the boys who lived under his care and had instruction from him. Montaigne says also that he took a chief part at the College of Guienne in the acting of Latin tragedies by Buchanan, Guérente and Muret.

Buchanan at Bordeaux.

George Buchanan wrote at this time two translations into Latin of Plays from Euripides, "Medea," and "Alcestis," and two plays of his own —"Jepththes" and "Baptistes." As Buchanan remained three years at Bordeaux we may suppose that his students acted three of the four plays—the two from Euripides and "Jephtha." "Baptistes," however, has a prologue clearly designed for an audience, though the play seems to have been written for his own satisfaction in deliverance of his mind on principles pressed home to him by troubles of the time. In

Latin Plays.

"*Jephtha*"

the scene is outside the house of Jephtha. The prologue, spoken by an angel, tells of the rebellious spirit of Israel, turning back into

idolatry, corrected by the scourge of war, as lately by arms of the Ammonites. God, having warned his people, had again delivered them, but they had been saved by the hand of Jephtha, despised, exiled, born of a base mother; and, lest Jephtha should grow proud in his triumph, sorrow of life now awaited him. He had vowed, if he had victory, to sacrifice whatever came out first to meet him. What grief hangs over him! His only child—his daughter—will be first to come. And even now she comes from the house sad, with her mother, upon whom, throughout the night, horror has pressed in dreams.

Storge, the mother, enters with Iphis, the daughter. The mother tells her boding dreams, the daughter comforts her and welcomes back the husband and the father who brings home wealth, praise, and honour to his race. The mother's dread remains. In all her past life grief pressed after grief.

A chorus of Jewish women then recalls the past mercies of God and prays for present deliverance. A messenger enters, and his telling of the victory is set in dialogue with the chorus. The chorus praises God and calls on Iphis to array herself in purple robes and braid her hair, that she may go forth rejoicing to embrace her father upon his return. They go to prepare the festive welcome.

Jephtha then enters alone, thanks God, and gratefully repeats his vow. Iphis re-enters from the house and runs to embrace her father. In the dialogue that follows, Iphis seeks in vain to understand her father's bitter grief in victory. He bids her see that all is well within the house, and come back quickly to be present at a sacrifice. She goes, much troubled by the anxious gloom with which she is regarded by a father who was always kind. Symmachus, a friend of the house, says that he will find the cause, and the chorus of women bids him, by so doing, prove himself a friend. The chorus, wishing him success, proceeds to denounce malice that brings evil rumours to divide husband from wife, father from child.

Symmachus then, in presence of the chorus, asks the renowned chief why he does not share the public joy he brings. Jephtha sighs for the happiness of lowly men, whom silence guards. Symmachus sees in renown earned by right deeds the happiest gift of God, for which men should be grateful; and when Jephtha still speaks of his misery, Symmachus dwells upon the joy he seems to have attained. The great sorrow is then told in a short dramatic dialogue. The chorus mixes words of sympathy with the advice of Symmachus to pause and to take counsel. Then follows the general lament of the chorus for the common lot of men.

Jephtha's great grief is next met by the counsels of a Priest; who in

vain argues with him that a vow made against nature and reason is not to be observed. Jephtha thinks that the rude people who hold all vows binding are wiser than the priests who learn to colour truth. The Priest reasons against blind stubbornness; Jephtha replies that God looks not at the gift but at the giver's mind. All's well if that be faithful, simple, and sincere.* Again the Priest reasons, and Jephtha bids him—

> 'Follow yourself those counsels if you will,
> With those who find it profit to be held
> The priests of Prudence.
> Rather give me the foolish, simple truth
> Than impious wisdom coloured splendidly.'

The chorus then laments the change that has afflicted the house of Jephtha, and the instability of fortune in affairs of men. Mother and daughter enter. Storge laments and reasons with her husband. Iphis is hers also. Can the father have a right to kill, and can the mother have no right to save? Iphis herself innocently pleads. Has she done ill in any way? If so, she can better bear her punishment. The father answers with a burst of grief. Had he but been more prudent in words, or been less fortunate in deeds. If he could die for her he would. 'Do I seem happier than you?' The mother asks to share her daughter's fate, and turns from pleading to reproval. Iphis then offers her life to her country and her father. Her piety increases Jephtha's pain. They depart. The chorus chants the praise of Iphis.

A messenger then enters, and in dialogue with Storge tells the end, and how the confused voice of the people spoke of the mother of a child so pious to her home, her country, and her God, as

> "fæminam
> Unam beatam maxime, et miserrimam."

In Buchanan's other Latin play—"Baptistes"—he is not so much telling a story with dramatic art as shaping a parable through which he can declare his thought upon the policy of Priests and Princes in his time.

> "Quodcunque gestum est mente sincera, Deo
> Gratum est, bonique dona semper consulit
> Quæcunque corde sunt præfecta simplice,
> Nec numen aurum, sed animum dantis probat."

The Baptist

stands for any bold Reformer. The prologue, surely written with an audience in mind, says that ill-natured critics condemn the old for staleness and the new by ill interpretation, wresting all things to the worse. This they may call an old tale if they will. It tells what happened many years ago. But they may call it also a new tale, since the times have not changed greatly.*

First Malchus and Gamaliel speak, and Malchus may be Cardinal Beaton or any persecuting priest who resists counsels of peace and mercy. Such counsels are put into the mouth of Gamaliel, who cannot account John the Baptist bad when he teaches a right life, checks vice, and walks in the way he shows to others. Gamaliel ends the scene with comments upon the cruel spirit of Malchus, written at a time when martyr fires were being lighted again in Bordeaux.

The chorus then chants of dark passions and the lust of a false glory in the cruel tyrannies of men. Happier the quiet of a rustic peace.

In the next scene Herodias is inciting Herod to slay John. Herod is weak, and to the queen's argument he opposes distinction between a good king and a tyrant. All this she sweeps away. Then John is before Herod, who is left confused by John's clear speech. Herod laments the state of a king who can do nothing of his own free will. If he destroy John, he offends the people. If he save John, he may weaken his own power. He must think first of sovereignty. The people afterwards can be appeased. He does not care for the disputations of Malchus; but all must acknowledge the king's power supreme. Then the Chorus of the People cries to God.

The Baptist, next, is before Malchus, and reasons against priestly tyranny. The Chorus chants of hypocrites, and conscience that gnaws within the impious breast.

Malchus unites then with the Queen; as the Chorus suggests, flame with flame, poison with poison.

The Chorus sees in John Truth set amidst its enemies, and then, in dialogue with him, counsels that he bow to the storm and save his life. John answers in the noblest spirit of the martyrs, and the Chorus celebrates his constancy.

> "Sin quod recenti memoria viget, novum
> Existimemus, hæc erit prorsus nova.
> Nam donec hominum genus erit, semper novæ
> Fraudes, novæque suppetent calumniæ;
> Livorque semper improbus premet probos,
> Vis jura vincet, fucus innocentiam."

The Queen remembers then Herod's rash promise to give her daughter, for a dance, whatever she will ask. She herself will bear the blame of John the Baptist's death. In the next scene Herodias and her daughter obtain promise of the Baptist's head, the daughter opposing to weak Herod's flinching from the hatred of the people, that kings must be feared, but they need not be loved. The Chorus laments for Jerusalem that slays the prophets, and looks for the judgment of God. A messenger tells how John has been beheaded, adding that death never comes ill to those who have lived well:

> Judge men unhappy for the way they die,
> How many holy fathers must you think
> Unhappy who by cross, sword, flood, and flame,
> Gave life up? When a follower of Truth
> Dies for Religion and his country's Laws,
> 'Tis fit that our best hopes should follow him,
> And we pray that our parting be like his.

There is then only a veiled suggestion in the few closing lines spoken by the Chorus of the troubles of this life, from which

> We dread departure more than slavery.

George Buchanan left Bordeaux at the end of the year 1542, or early in 1543. In 1544 he was in Paris again, where he was teaching in the Collége du Cardinal Lemoine. He left Paris in or before 1545. John III. of Portugal, having restored its university to Coimbra, desired to found a college in connection with it. He took counsel with André de Gouvéa, the Portuguese scholar, who presided at Bordeaux over the Collége de Guyenne. In 1547, Gouvéa left Bordeaux to become Principal of the new College of Arts at Coimbra, for which he collected a staff of the best teachers attainable, among whom was George Buchanan. The new College of Arts was to secure for Portuguese students the good training at home which they had sought abroad. Buchanan went, therefore, in 1547, to Coimbra, where he remained five years. But at the end of his first year there, André de Gouvéa died.

Buchanan in Portugal.

The Jesuits then sought to get possession of the college. Accusations of heresy were made. Three teachers were sent to the prisons of the Inquisition. Simon Rodrigues had unbounded influence over the king, and the College of Arts at Coimbra, with George Buchanan still a teacher in it, came under the control of Jesuits. Buchanan was accused of having satirised the Franciscans; of speaking ill of monks; of having eaten flesh in Lent; of having said, in conversation with a young Portuguese, that St. Augustine's view of the Eucharist agreed better with the teaching of the heretics than of the Church. It was said that he was no good Catholic. Then, after troubling over him for a year and a half, the Inquisition placed him in a monastery, to be better taught by ignorant monks, who housed and fed him kindly, but had nothing to teach. It was at this time that Buchanan paraphrased the whole Book of Psalms into Latin verse. When he left the monastery, he wished also to leave Portugal, but King John was unwilling to part with so famous a scholar, and detained him, with allowance adequate for his support.

The Psalms in Latin Verse.

Buchanan's Latin version of the Psalms came to be thought the best of many attempts to make a Horace of King David; and Psalm 137 has been considered the best in his version. Guy Patin said that, after fifteen centuries, another Virgil had arisen. The Book of Psalms in good classical Latin verse served well to replace heathen authors in the schoolroom; and Buchanan's paraphrase, which in his lifetime came to be used by schools in Germany, remained for many years after his death one of the class-books in the schools of Scotland.

In 1552, Buchanan sailed from Lisbon, came to England, and found England full of troubles. He returned to France early in 1553, and remained in Paris for the next two years, teaching for part of the time in the Collége Boncourt, befriended by Margaret of Navarre, to whom he

dedicated his "Medea," and by Charles du Cossé, Comte de Brissac, to whom he dedicated his "Jephthes."

In 1555, Buchanan became tutor to Brissac's son, Timoleon du Cossé, a boy of twelve, who remained under his care until the age of seventeen. During these five years Buchanan gave his mind to study of the Bible, and began to write for his pupil, with much care, a Latin poem in Five Books upon the system of the universe—*De Sphæra*. It enshrined in verse the doctrine of the days before Copernicus, whose theory was first published in 1543. Buchanan's Fourth and Fifth Books were unfinished. His health, always weak, became broken by more than one disease.

De Sphæra.

In January, 1562, Buchanan was again in Edinburgh, and his Bible studies caused him formally to join the Reformed Church of Scotland. He read Livy with Queen Mary, translated Spanish papers for the Privy Council, wrote epigrams and occasional poems, also short Latin masques for the Court, from which he received a pension that enabled him to live.

In 1566, the Earl of Moray appointed George Buchanan Principal of St. Leonard's College, in St. Andrew's, which office he held till 1570. In December of that year Buchanan invented for Queen Mary the masque on the baptism of James VI., upon whose birth he had written a poem that included firm suggestion of the duty of a king and of the fate of tyrants.

In 1567 the murder of Darnley and marriage with Bothwell were followed by the finding of the Casket Letters, and in July George Buchanan sat as Moderator of the General Assembly which then met in Edinburgh and required the abdication of the queen. The case against her was set down in a Book of Articles, written in the vernacular, to be laid before Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners. Buchanan was among those who went upon that errand with the Earl of

Moray, and he zealously supported the indictment with a Latin "Detectio Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum," which was published in London in 1571. It was probably in the next year that this piece was published in Edinburgh, in Scottish dialect, as "Ane Detection of the duings of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murdir of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell; and ane Defense of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis gracis actioun and authoritie."

When in London, George Buchanan entered into friendliest relations with Roger Ascham. It was a friendship of the two best living scholars of our country, north and south. Both were in broken health, and Ascham then within a year of death. Short poems in honour of Ascham are among the occasional verses with which George Buchanan marked all his chief relations with the world about him. In such pieces there were touches of exaggeration that belonged everywhere to the Latin manner of the day, but there was a constant happiness of thought and style that marked rather the original poet than the accomplished versifier. Buchanan in his Latin was a poet-scholar, not a scholar who wrote verse. He shows himself in these poems generous in friendship although quick in scorn, graceful in compliment, and concerned chiefly with affairs of men, though he knew how to write a May-Day poem that was a joy even to Wordsworth. Ascham agreed with the learned throughout Europe in regarding George Buchanan as the best Latin poet of his time. Probably he was, as many thought him, the best of Latin poets since the days when Latin was their mother tongue.

Occasional Latin Verses.

After the murder of the Regent Moray, which affected him deeply, George Buchanan wrote "Ane Admonitioun derect to the trew Lordis maintenaris of Justice and Obedience to the Kingis Grace," warning against the Hamiltons, and urging that the future of the

Pieces in Scottish Dialect.

nation depended on the young king's safety. He wrote, also, in Scottish, a pamphlet called "The Chamælion," on the political character of Maitland of Lethington.

In March, 1570, when James VI. was a child four years old, it was determined by the Privy Council that George Buchanan should resign his office of Master of St. Leonard's College, and be wholly occupied with the preservation and good education of the king. Under such a teacher the young king would have a chance of acquiring, not only sound scholarship, but also sound views of a king's relation to his people. A few young nobles were taught with King James, and Buchanan, who undertook this duty when he was sixty-four years old, and weak in health, had Peter Young for an assistant. There were two other teachers, abbots both. George Buchanan did not teach James in the spirit of a courtier, but tried to make of him a noble king. For this, in after years, his Majesty bore no goodwill to him. In 1576, when his play of "Baptistes" was printed, Buchanan dedicated it to his pupil, avowedly as lesson to him of what he should avoid. He said also boldly, in his dedication, that he wished the book to be a standing witness that the fault was in the king, not in his teachers, if ever he were misled by evil counsellors or greed of power.

Tutor to James VI.

George Buchanan died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1582. In 1579 he published in Latin a Socratic dialogue between himself and Thomas Maitland —"De Jure Regni apud Scotos." It begins with reference to opinion in France on Scottish affairs. Young Maitland has just come from France, and the French opinion he records touches the murder of Darnley and the following events of the same year. Buchanan, when publishing the piece, said that it had been written some years before in a time of trouble, and he

De Jure Regni apud Scotos.

dedicated it to King James as a book showing him what a King of Scots should try to be.

The King in this treatise is represented as the Physician of the People. His work is to prevent or cure diseases in the body politic. Though he may have no genius for his work he can abide by rules of his art, which are Laws of his country. The less a King is himself prudent, the more it is necessary that he hold by Law in the performance of his duties. The rule of Kings and the establishment of Law rests on the will of the People. Kings cannot override the Law. Tyrants alone do that. It is the glory of Kings to maintain Law and administer it for the Health of the People. Though the crown in Scotland is hereditary, Kings are made answerable to the People if they break their oath, and are protected by the People while they do their duty. A guilty King is answerable to the Law as any private citizen.

The crown of George Buchanan's work in life was his "History of Scotland" from earliest times, in twenty books, written in Latin, and in a style modelled upon the best Latin historians. Many scholars of his day believed with Buchanan that Latin would, with advance of education, come into wide use as the language of all cultivated readers. Buchanan planned the writing of his history not long after his last return to Scotland. In 1579 he had brought his narrative down to the murder of the Earl of Moray. There remained only the twentieth book, to be written with help of materials for which he then was waiting. The twentieth book ended the whole history with the death of the Regent Lennox and appointment of the Earl of Mar. Buchanan puts into this last book of his history the same argument of the responsibility of Rulers that he had elaborated in the Platonic dialogue "De Jure Regni." It is in the speech of the Regent Morton, justifying, before the Council of Elizabeth, the action of the Scots against their queen.

History of Scotland.

Buchanan's history was first published at Edinburgh in the year of his death, 1582. "Sa," says, in his diary, James Melvill, who visited the old poet in his last days, "sa, be the printing of his chronicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man, endit this his mortall lyff."

The two James Melvilles.

There are two James Melvilles who wrote recollections of their past lives, set down year by year, not day by day, in the time when Knox and George Buchanan lived. One, who was a minister of the Kirk, wrote his name Melvill, and the other, who was a knight, signed Melvil. Melvill's Memoirs, first published from the author's MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates by the Bannatyne Club in 1829, are called his "Diary," by way of distinction from the Memoirs of Melvil, which were found in Edinburgh Castle and first published in 1683.

James Melvill's Diary.

James Melvill's Diary, after a few records of early childhood, extends from 1570 to 1601. The author was a Master of the College of Theology at Saint Andrew's, who became minister of the kirks at Anstruther and Kilrynnie, in 1586 and 1587. He calls his record "The Hystorie of the Lyff of J. M," and begins with his birth on the twenty-fifth of July, 1556. Richard Melvill, his father, was an educated man, then tutor to James Erskine, heir of Dun, and his mother was a sister of the Laird of Glaswell. James Melvill was a schoolboy at Montrose, where he tells us that he read the "Georgics of Wirgill," and accidentally prodded a knife into a "condisciple's" shin, for which he was visited with a judgment from God when he was himself eating, with a new knife, a pennyworth of apples. He fell and his knife wounded him. He tells of summer at home in the harvest-field; of a winter at home, when his chief reading was in the Bible and Sir David Lindsay's poems; of student life at St. Andrew's, where "the graitest benefit was the sight and

heiring of that extraordinar man of God, Mr. Jhone Knox." Melvill says, "I heard him preach the prophecies of Daniel. . I had my pen and my little buik and took away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening of the text he was moderate the space of half an hour; but when he enterit to application he made me so to grew and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. . . He was very weak. I saw him every day of his doctrine go hulie and fear with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in the ane hand, and gude godly Richard Ballandene, his servant, holding up the other oxter, from the Abbey to the Parish Kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, whare he behoved to lean at his first entrie, but ere he had done with his sermon he was sae active and vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads and flie out of it." James Melvill records incidents in sieges of towns, and spiritual battles of the Kirk, and he abounds in homely touches of the little words and deeds of men whose names are honoured now, and whom we see and touch in records such as these, which give the living flesh back to the skeleton of history. James Melvill called, in 1581, on George Buchanan when he was dying. There went with him his own uncle, Mr. Andre, and Buchanan's cousin Thomas, and he says, "When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in chaire, teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb; etc. Efter salutation Mr. Andre sayes, "I sie, sir, yie are nocht ydle.' 'Better this,' quoth he, 'nor stelling sheipe, or sytting ydle, quhilk is als ill.' Thereafter he schew ws the Epistle Dedicatorie, quhilk, when Mr. Andre had read, he tauld him that it was obscure in sum places, and wanted certean words to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he 'I may do no mair for thinking on another matter.' 'What is that?' says Mr. Andre. 'To die,' quoth he; 'bot I leave that and manie ma things for yow to helpe.'"

Sir James Melvil has given in his Memoirs a close view of the political life of Scotland in the days of Knox and Buchanan.

James Melvil's Memoirs.

He was third son of the Laird of Raith, born in 1530, at Halhil, in Fifeshire, and he began to be familiar with public affairs in France as page of honour to Mary Queen of Scots, when she was brought to France in 1548 and affianced to the Dauphin. From her service Melvil passed in 1553 into that of the Great Constable of France, the Duke de Montmorencie, whom he served nine years. Afterwards Melvil served during three years the Elector Palatine, and was employed by him on Embassies. He travelled also to Rome, Venice, and other parts of Italy. In 1561, though offered a large pension if he would give his services to the Queen Mother in France, Melvil returned to Scotland and served Mary Queen of Scots as Privy Councillor and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. But after Darnley's murder Melvil's faithful warnings against Bothwell made his life unsafe in Scotland. Mary's rule having been set aside, Sir James Melvil was entrusted with negotiations by four successive Regents of Scotland, and afterwards by James VI. But when King James VI. came as James I. into England, Melvil asked for rest in his old age. The king, nevertheless, called him to London and took counsel with him for some weeks, after which Sir James returned to his own house at Halhill, and in the leisure of his last years, with the use of papers that he had by him, wrote his Memoirs and addressed them to his son. In his letter to his son, James Melvil notes that in dealing with princes he had always told them truth, however unwelcome, and that, although there is a certain discretion to be used that is free from both sauciness and assertation, a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. "This," added Sir James to his son, "thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to public affairs, and though thou may'st bend with the

necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go; and humour the prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer anything to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudices, without noticing it to him in some humble manner: And though for that time it be disrelishing or slighted, yet when he sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest advice for time future: And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world."

Sir James Melvil thus describes the provision made for the training of the young king, afterwards to be James I. of England: "Now the young king was brought up in Stirling by Alexander Erskine and my Lady Mar. He had four principal masters, Mr. George Buchanan, Mr. Peter Young, the Abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, descended from the House of Erskine. The Laird of Drumwhasal was Master of the Household. Alexander Erskine was a gallant, well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men for his good qualities and great discretion, no ways factious nor envious, a lover of all honest men, and desired ever to see men of good conversation about the Prince rather than his own nearer friends, if he found them not so meet.

"The Laird of Drumwhasal again was ambitious and greedy, his greatest care was to advance himself and his friends. The two abbots were wise and modest. My Lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe, and so did Mr. George Buchanan. Mr. Peter Young was

more gentle, and was loth to offend the king at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had mind of his own weal by keeping of his Majesty's favour. But Mr. George was a stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him, a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesy, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing on all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused. . . . and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault."

In some unknown way the manuscript of Sir James Melvil's "Memoirs," or so much of it as is now known, found its way into Edinburgh Castle—borrowed, probably, and not returned. In the year 1660 the minister of Grey Friars, Robert Trail, was a prisoner in the Castle, saw the manuscript, and knew whose handwriting it was. He obtained its restoration to the writer's grandson at Halhill, another Sir James Melvil. From that grandson it came to the hands of George Scott, who published it, in folio, in 1683, as "The Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, of Halhill, containing an impartial Account of the most remarkable Affairs of State during the Sixteenth Century, not mentioned by other historians: More particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James: In most of which transactions the author was personally and publicly concerned. Published from the original Manuscript by George Scott, gent."

These personal recollections of a sensible man, whose prudence and fidelity brought him, throughout a long life, into confidential intercourse with men and women who, by their wisdom or unwisdom, were making history, contribute much towards that realising of the past which helps our present knowledge of the world.

CHAPTER XII.

CHRONICLES AND PLAYS.

ENGLAND'S part on the great stage of the world was now being set forth by historians in London, and there was rising rapidly a stage in London upon which our players were to show the world's life in their mirror. We have to complete the record of this part, also, of our literature to the year 1579. Let us return, therefore, to Richard Grafton, of whom we have spoken already as printer of "Hardyng's Chronicle" in 1543, and of the second edition of "Hall's Chronicle" in 1548.*

Richard Grafton was a prosperous London merchant, member of the Grocers' Company. He may have taken to printing because of zeal as a Reformer, when he joined another merchant—Edward Whitchurch— in the printing of John Rogers's Bible (Matthew's Bible), in 1537. In 1538, Grafton and Whitchurch had Coverdale's corrected translation of the New Testament printed in Paris, with the Latin text, as "The New Testament both in Latin and English after the vulgare text which is red in the churche. Translated and corrected by Myles Coverdale and prynted in Paris by Fraunces Regnault M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. in Novembre. Prynted for Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, cytezens of London. *Cum gratia et privilegio regis.*" This Bible opened with two pages of dedication to Thomas Cromwell. In the

Richard Grafton.

* "E. W." vii. 269, 270.

following year, 1539, there was a London edition, "Prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch; *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*" Grafton and Whitchurch were also actively engaged in printing the "Great Bible" (Cranmer's), and Henry VIII. had obtained from Francis I. permission for the London grocer and his friend to have its type set up in Paris. Question of heresy was raised by the Inquisition, and in December, 1538, the work was stopped by the French Government, and the types and presses seized. Thomas Cromwell, however, bought them, and had them brought into England. Then Grafton and Whitchurch, with aid from Anthony Marler, a haberdasher, brought printers over from France, and completed the work in London. Their edition of the "Great Bible" was "fynisshed in Apryll" 1539, and every church was required to buy a copy before All-Hallows, 1540. New editions, with a prologue by Cranmer, were issued in April, July, and November, 1540, and three more in May, November, and December, 1541. Grafton's printing-office was within the precincts of the Grey Friars, afterwards Christ's Hospital. Continuing such work, Grafton and Whitchurch obtained, in 1544, an exclusive patent for the printing of church service-books and primers. Grafton was styled "Prince Edward's printer" in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s reign, and was the king's printer in the reign of Edward VI. Richard Grafton printed, in 1549, the first Book of Common Prayer. He was official printer of Acts of Parliament, and issued other books of good character, such as Thomas Wilson's "Rule of Reason," in 1552, and his "Art of Retorique," in 1553. Grafton lost his position as a printer after the death of Edward VI. for printing the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey, and thereon signing himself "Queen's Printer." The printer to Queen Jane was superseded, and the printer to Queen Mary was John Cawood, who lived until 1572, and was in Elizabeth's

reign three times Master of the Stationers' Company. Richard Grafton also died about the year 1572. His first work as an original chronicler was the continuation of "Hardyng's Chronicle," from the beginning of Edward IV.'s reign, where it had stopped, to the year 1543, in which he printed his edition of it. Again, when he reprinted Hall's Chronicle, he continued it from 1532, where it had ended, to the death of Henry VIII., in each case giving a slight record of events of his own time. Grafton's work as an independent chronicler began in 1562 with his "Abridgment of the Chronicles of England." This was followed in 1565 by his "Manuell of the Chronicles of England," and was completed in 1568 with his "Chronicle at large and meere Hystorye of the Affayres of Englande." These books we must take in their relation to the chronicle-writing of John Stow.

In the reign of Edward VI. John Stow, who had been born, in 1525, in Threadneedle Street, the son and grandson of a tailor, completed his apprenticeship to the family business in the year 1549. He then became a master tailor, and was living near the well in Aldgate; for he records incidentally that, in 1549, when he was living there, the bailiff of Romford "was executed upon the pavement of my door where I then kept house." John Stow.

John Stow must have lived by his occupation as a tailor for the next fourteen or sixteen years. But he was born to take a patriotic interest in the annals of his native country and his native city, and at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when his age was thirty-three, he had gathered books about him to aid search into the history of the past.

He was then beginning to compile for himself, and he published in 1561, at the age of thirty-six, "A Summarie of Englysh Chronicles." Of this volume, in its first

edition, there is but one copy extant, which belongs to the Grenville Collection in the British Museum. It is in a hundred and twenty leaves, but without the title-page. Its date is determined by the text on the last page but one, where the Chronicle stands at the second year of Elizabeth. There was a second edition of Stow's "Summarie of English Chronicles" in 1565, followed by other editions in 1566, 1570, 1573, 1575, 1579, 1584, 1587, 1590, 1598, and 1604; that is to say, there were eleven editions in the author's life-time, the last of them published in the year before his death, and brought down by himself to 1604, the date of issue. John Stow's digest of the Chronicles was, therefore, in Elizabeth's reign, one of the accepted short guides to a knowledge of the history of England.

"Summarie of English Chronicles."

The friendly acceptance of his Summary, and his own strong bent towards such research, led John Stow, about the time when he was preparing for its first reprint, and when his age was about forty, to give up his business, that he might devote himself exclusively to the research in which he found the true use and enjoyment of his life. In the edition of his Summarie produced in 1573, he wrote: "It is now eight years since I, seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles, and the ignorant handling of ancient affairs, leaving mine own peculiar gains, consecrated myself to the search of our famous antiquities." This indication, nearest to the time of giving up his trade for the one all-absorbing pursuit, may be taken as best marking the date of that bold change by which, for the love of intellectual research and the desire to bring home England to the English, he risked the coming of what really at last came—old age with poverty. In later editions he varied a little in his counting of the time since he first devoted himself to historical studies. In his

latest edition—that of 1604—he wrote: "It is now nigh forty-five years since I, seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles and the ignorant handling of ancient affairs, as also by occasion being persuaded by the Earl of Leicester," &c., and adds as a marginal note to the mention of Leicester, "I gave him a book compiled by his grandfather, Edward Dudley." These forty-five years "now nigh" would take us back to the end of 1559 or the beginning of 1560. They evidently dated from the time when Stow first began to prepare the "Summarie of English Chronicles," with the fact now added that he was encouraged to do so by the Earl of Leicester. John Stow's research cost money; he accumulated books, he paid no servile suit for patronage; his life reached to the age of eighty, and he was left in his last years very poor. He put away, at the age of about forty, the trade by which he could have grown rich, that he might give himself up to the preparation of a fuller record of the Annals of England.

A man surrounded with old books, who loved the past and studied it incessantly, exposed himself to criticism of the crowd who, as Chaucer observed, "demen gladly to the badder end." Two or three years after John Stow had begun to give his whole life to his chosen work, he was reported to Queen Elizabeth's Council as "a suspicious person with many dangerous and superstitious books in his possession." Edmund Grindal was then Bishop of London, by himself and through his chaplain one of the official licensers of books. They were days also of active search for "recusants," who remained Roman Catholics outside the English Church as it had been by law established. Grindal ordered his chaplain and two others to make search in John Stow's study and report on what they found there. John Strype tells us what the chaplain reported about Stow. "He had great collections of his own for the English chronicles,

wherein he seemed to have bestowed much travail. They found also a great sort of old books printed; some fabulous, as of Sir Degorie, Triamour, &c, and a great parcel of old MS. chronicles, both in parchment and paper. And that besides he had miscellaneous tracts touching physic, surgery, and herbs; and also others, written in old English, in parchment. But another sort of books he had, more modern, of which the said searchers thought fit to take an inventory, as likely most to touch him; and they were books lately set forth in the realm or beyond sea in defence of Papistry, which books, as the chaplain said, declared him a great fautor of that religion." It was not permitted by the law of that day to prove all things as a security for holding fast that which was good. A loyally religious Englishman was expected by the Government to be of one side without knowing what was said upon the other.

While John Stow was at work upon his Annals, he was in dispute with Richard Grafton on behalf of his "Summarie of the Chronicles." Grafton's "Abridgment of the Chronicles," produced in 1562, was a rival to Stow's Summary, first published in 1561. Grafton said of his Abridgment, in a dedication to Lord Robert Dudley, that he had been led to compile it by having seen a very inaccurate work of the same kind already in circulation. He followed, in fact, the poor-spirited practice of recommending his own work by depreciation of the writer whom he imitated. Grafton's Abridgment was reprinted in 1563, 1564, 1570, and 1572. Grafton's Manuell "from the Creation of the World to this year 1595," was a still further abridgment of history into a little book of a hundred small leaves, beginning with a calendar in which the evil and unfortunate days, and such as are not altogether so evil, are noted, and ending with a list of fairs. It was followed by two folio volumes in 1568 and 1569, of Grafton's "Chronicle

Grafton's "Abridgment of the Chronicles."

Grafton's "Manual."

at Large, and Meere History of the Affayres of England and Kinges of the same." There was a second edition of this within the year. In reply to Grafton's depreciation of Stow's work, Stow declared that Grafton's "Manual" was "new scoured and cleanly altered" from Grafton's "Abridgment," after the buying of Stow's "Summarie." The controversy included Grafton's play on the name of Stow, when he condemned the "memories of superstitions, foundations, fables, and lies foolishly Stowed together," and Stow's hope that his work would not be defaced and overthrown "through the thundering noise of empty Tons and unfruitful Grafts of Momus' offspring."

Grafton's "Chronicle at Large"

Grafton's "Chronicle at Large" was not followed until 1580 by the result of John Stow's larger research, in "Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, from Brute unto this present year of Christ, 1580." This was a quarto of 1,215 pages, followed by an account of our universities upon eight pages more, and it was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

Stow's "Annales."

The death of Archbishop Parker, in 1575, deprived Stow of his one strong supporter. Parker paid costs of the printing of four old historians—Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser's "Life of Alfred," and, except Asser, all of them were published at the suggestion and with the aid of John Stow: Matthew of Westminster in 1567, Matthew Paris in 1571, and Thomas Walsingham in 1574, the year before the Archbishop's death. We leave John Stow in 1580 with twenty-four more years of work before him.

Matthew Parker and John Stow.

Raphael Holinshed, whose Chronicle, as well as Hall's, was used by Shakespeare when he wrote his plays from English history, died in 1580. Little is known of the history of Holinshed himself. He is supposed to be of a Cheshire family, in which the Christian names of Ralph and Raphael often occur. That was

Raphael Holinshed.

a family of Holinsheds, or Hollingsheads, of Cophurst, in the township of Sutton Downes, but there is no sure evidence that the historian belonged to it. The first known fact is that Holinshed came to London early in Elizabeth's reign, and worked in the printing-office of Reginald Wolfe, who died in 1573. Holinshed worked for Wolfe as a translator, and especially he worked with him at a great scheme for a History and Description of the World, with maps and woodcuts. Wolfe had the use of Leland's manuscripts as part of his material, and used them in work upon the history and geography of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Reginald Wolfe had been busy upon this scheme for five-and-twenty years, and Raphael Holinshed had been during the latter half of that time his active fellow-labourer. After the death of Wolfe, three other publishers agreed to carry on the work, putting aside, for the present at least, the bold design of a Universal History and Cosmography, putting aside, also, the engraving of maps, and confining the enterprise to the History of England, Scotland, and Ireland. As Holinshed said in a dedication to Lord Burghley, "When the volume grew so great as they that were to defray the charge for the impression were not willing to go through with the whole, they resolved first to publish the Histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their Descriptions; which Descriptions, because they were not in such readiness as those of foreign countries, they were inforced to use the help of other better able to do it than myself." Descriptions of foreign countries, that Holinshed had already prepared, were laid aside. The three publishers who resolved, within these narrower limits, to go on with the undertaking were Lucas Harrison—who died not many days after the Chronicle was ready—John Harrison, and George Bishop. They retained the services of Holinshed, who lived in Warwickshire, as steward to Thomas Burdet of Bramcote. They employed Richard Stanyhurst to continue from 1509 to 1547 the

History of Ireland, which Holinshed had compiled to the year 1509 from a manuscript by Edmund Campion; and they employed William Harrison to assist by writing the Descriptions of England and Scotland.

Edmund Campion, the Jesuit, son of a London bookseller, was forty-one years old when, after being three times tortured on the rack, he went to execution as a zealous martyr for his faith, on the first of December, 1581. He had graduated as B.A. at Oxford in November, 1561, as M.A. in February, 1565. Being distinguished for his wit and eloquence, he had been chosen, in 1566, to speak an address of welcome to the queen, who in that year visited Oxford. Elizabeth had been highly gratified, and commended Campion to the care of the Earl of Leicester, who was good friend to him for the next four years. It was in August, 1569, that Edmund Campion left Oxford for Dublin, where the father of Richard Stanyhurst, one of his pupils, was active in endeavour to revive the old Dublin University. In James Stanyhurst's house Campion wrote that History of Ireland which was used by Holinshed. Campion, two years afterwards, abjured Protestantism and left England. He returned in 1580, joined with Robert Parsons in a mission to England. They were to persuade to open declaration of their faith the large body of English Roman Catholics who temporised, as Campion himself had temporised. Campion, in daily peril of his life, wrote *Decem Rationes* against Protestantism, and in Oxford, at Commemoration, 1581, strewed the benches of St. Mary's Church with copies of his pamphlet. It had been printed in England at a private press, though issued as if printed at Douay. In a few weeks more he was a prisoner, and before the year's end he was hanged.

Edmund Campion.

Richard Stanyhurst, who contributed to Holinshed's Chronicle the description of Ireland, and the completion of the History of Ireland from 1509 to 1547, was born

in 1547 in Dublin, where James Stanyhurst, his father, was Recorder of the city. James Stanyhurst was also Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in three Parliaments. In 1563, Richard Stanyhurst went as a commoner to University College, Oxford, where he wrote, at the age of eighteen, Commentaries on Porphyry. He graduated as B.A. in June, 1567, and went to London, where he studied law at Furnivall's Inn. Next he went back to Ireland, where his father died in December, 1573. Richard Stanyhurst, with whom we shall meet again as a translator of Virgil, had a wife, Janet, who died in 1579, and a sister, Margaret, who married Arnold Ussher, one of the six Clerks of the Irish Court of Chancery. Stanyhurst's sister Margaret thus became the mother of James Ussher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.

Richard Stanyhurst.

William Harrison, who wrote the description of England for Holinshed's Chronicle, was born in London on the eighteenth of April, 1534. He went to St. Paul's School and to Westminster School, where he was under Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. He went to Cambridge at the age of seventeen, and afterwards to Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1556, M.A. in 1560. William Harrison became chaplain to William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who presented him, in February, 1559, to the Rectory of Radwinter, in Essex. For ten years, from January, 1571, to the autumn of 1581, when he resigned it, Harrison held also the Vicarage of Wimbish, in Essex, to which he was presented by Francis de la Wood. He married, before 1571, Marion Isebrande, who had been living with her parents at Andern, near Guisnes. She died before him. William Harrison was made, in April, 1586, a Canon of Windsor, and he died in 1593, leaving a son Edmund and two daughters.

William Harrison.

Harrison's Description of England was placed before the

first volume of Holinshed's Chronicle. Its First Book is of the geography of England, described from maps obtained by Reginald Wolfe from Thomas Sackford, Master of the Requests, and from the papers of Leland, by which he abided faithfully; for he said in his dedication to Lord Cobham that, except between his rectory of Radwinter in Essex and Lord Cobham's house in Kent, or between London, where he was born, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, "I never travelled forty miles forthright and in one journey in all my life." But in the Second and Third Books of his Description of England, William Harrison gave a homely and full account of the manners and customs of the people of England in his days, which has acquired great value for us who desire to come as close as possible to the life of our fathers in Shakespeare's time. The Description in the Second Book is in twenty-five chapters, under the several heads of The Church, Bishoprics and their Circuits, Universities, Division into Shires and Counties, Degrees of People in the Commonwealth, Food, Apparel, Parliament, Laws, Provision for the Poor, Punishments, Building and Furniture of Houses, Cities and Towns, Castles, Palaces, Armour and Munition, Navy, Fairs and Markets, Parks and Warrens, Gardens and Orchards, Waters, Woods, Baths and Hot Wells, Antiquities Found, and of the Coins of England. The Third Book of Harrison's Description of England is in sixteen chapters, under the several heads of Cattle, Wild and Tame Fowl, Fish, Savage Beasts and Vermins, Hawks and Ravenous Fowls, Venomous Beasts, Dogs, Saffron, Stone Quarries, Minerals, Metals, Precious Stones, Salt, "Of our accompt of time and hir parts," Fairs and Markets, Inns and Roads.*

Description of England.

* One of Dr. F. J. Furnivall's many good services to English literature was his editing for the "New Shakspere Society," in 1877 and 1878, of the Second and Third Books of Harrison's Description of England, with addition of much valuable illustrative matter.

For the Description of Scotland, which was placed before the second part of Holinshed's Chronicle, Harrison simply gave a free transcript into English out of the Scotch dialect of Bellenden's translation of the Latin description of Scotland by Hector Boece.* Harrison spent only four days on the production of what was printed as "The Description of Scotland, written at the first by Hector Boetius in Latine, and afterward translated into the Scottish speech by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finallie into English by W. H."

William Harrison compiled also a Great Chronology, as part of Reginald Wolfe's original scheme, of which three large manuscript folios are in the diocesan library at Derry. In this work he followed time from the Creation to within two months of his own death. In the same library is Harrison's manuscript account of Weights and Measures of many lands, which also was a part of the design of those who planned to tell the story of the world.

On the first of July, 1578, there was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, "Receyued of master harrison and Master Bisshop, for the licensinge of Raphael's Hollingeshedes cronycle, xx^{s}. and a copy," the size and importance of the book being marked by a registration fee exceptionally large, for the usual fee was then fourpence, sixpence, eightpence, twelvepence; very seldom eighteenpence or two-and-sixpence. The printer was Henry Bynneman.

Holinshed's Chronicle.

The Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande, by Raphael Holinshed, as first published in 1577, were in two folios, freely illustrated with woodcuts, which were omitted from the second edition of 1586-7. The first volume of the first edition contained a leaf of title; two leaves of a dedication of the whole work to William Cecil, Lord Burghley; two leaves of a preface to the reader; one

* "E. W." vii. 265, 266.

leaf of names of the authors; one leaf of William Harrison's dedication of his Description of England to William Brooke, Lord Cobham; one hundred and twenty-six leaves of Harrison's Description of Britain, followed by two hundred and ninety pages of the History of England, which ended in this volume at the Norman Conquest. The rest of English history was in the second volume, with continuation of the numbering of pages from 290 to page 1876. After the section of the History of England, given in the first volume, there came a leaf of title for the "Historie of Scotland," followed by a leaf of dedication to the Earl of Leicester, a leaf for the Description of Scotland, with a leaf for Harrison's dedication to Thomas Sackford, Master of the Requests; then the Historie of Scotland in 518 pages separately numbered, followed by thirteen leaves containing a table of the principal matters. The Historie of Ireland followed with a leaf of title-page; a leaf for dedication to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the Description of Ireland on twenty-eight leaves; the Historie in 116 pages; and three leaves for a table of the principal matters. The second of the two folios contained, as before said, the History of England since the Norman Conquest, adding 1,586 pages to the 290 in the first volume. To these it appended fifty leaves of a table that was meant to serve for both parts of the English Chronicle; also two leaves of faults and oversights. Among illustrations in this volume was a folding woodcut view of Edinburgh, placed between pages 1868 and 1869, with names of gentlemen and captains in charge at the siege and winning of Edinburgh in 1573. The Queen and her Council objected to some passages in the History of Ireland, on pages 74-8 and 90-1, referring to the rebellion of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and to the character of John Allen, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1528 to 1534. These pages were cancelled, and replaced with the required alterations. Holinshed died in Warwickshire, at Bramcote, in

1580, not far from the home of William Shakespeare, who was then a boy of sixteen.

William Camden, in 1579, was twenty-eight years old, and since the age of twenty-four he had been second master of Westminster School. He had already begun work on his "Britannia," which was not published until 1586. His place, therefore, is in the next book of this history.

William Camden.

Thomas Wilson, who died in the year 1581, wrote in his earlier life treatises in English upon rhetoric and logic. He was born at Stroby, in Lincolnshire, educated at Eton, under Udall, and at King's College, Cambridge, to which he was elected from Eton in 1541. He graduated as B.A. in 1546, M.A. in 1549. While at Cambridge he acted as tutor to Henry and Charles Brandon, boys who died in the same hour but were successive Dukes of Suffolk. In 1551 he published "The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique, set forth in English by Thomas Vuilson." It was printed in 16mo by Richard Grafton and dedicated to King Edward VI. There were two editions of this book in 1552, other editions in 1553, 1554, 1560, 1563, 1567, 1580, 1585. It was our first treatise on logic that was not written in Latin. In this book Thomas Wilson gave "an example of doubtfull writyng, whiche, by reason of pointyng, maie haue double sense and contrary meanyng, taken out of an enterlude made by Nicholas Udall." This was Ralph Roister Doister's love-letter, of which Matthew Merrygreek reversed the sense by misplacing the stops. The quotation shows that "Ralph Roister Doister," which is not known to have been printed before 1566, was written before 1551, and strongly corroborates all other reasons for believing that it was acted at Eton. Thomas Wilson may have acted in it, for he was an Eton boy under Udall. Udall was head master there from

Thomas Wilson.

"Arte of Logique."

1534 to 1541, and Wilson left Eton in 1541 for Cambridge.

In 1552 Thomas Wilson wrote, in memory of his pupils, an *Epistola de Vita et Obitu duorum Fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandon*, which was prefixed to a collection of memorial verses on their death. Henry had been Duke of Suffolk since he was ten years old, and was sixteen when he and his younger brother, Charles, were studying at St. John's College in 1551. The sweating sickness broke out at Cambridge in July of that year. The brothers were hastily removed to the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden, in Huntingdonshire, but they both caught the disease and died in the same hour. As Charles survived his elder brother half an hour, he was considered to have been Duke during that time.

Memoir of Henry and Charles Brandon.

In 1553 Thomas Wilson published in quarto, with a dedication to John Dudley, Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwicke, Master of the Horse, a treatise upon the next art to logic in the Trivium—"The Arte of Retorique, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence, sette forthe in English." Thomas Wilson, in this book, objected to the growing affectation of men who "powdered their talk with oversea language," or adulterated it with Latin, a practice common in his time among those whom he called "the unlearned or foolish fantastical that smell but of learning." His complaint was of the corruption of talk, of the growth of an affected way of speech, to which his own book of rhetoric was not meant to contribute. It was the fault afterwards elaborated into Euphuism when it passed, with an exaggerated use of rhetoric, from speaking into writing.

"The Art of Retorique."

Edward Courtenay, who was a prisoner in the Tower from the age of twelve to the age of twenty-seven, when he was released on the accession of Queen Mary and created Earl of Devonshire, was sent back to the Tower within a year, for share in the

Oration at the Funeral of Edward Courtenay.

plot against Philip II.'s marriage to Queen Mary. In 1555, at Easter, imprisonment was changed to exile, and in September, 1556, Courtenay died suddenly at Padua. Thomas Wilson, who had left England soon after the death of Edward VI., was then studying at Padua, and delivered on the twenty-first of September, in the great Church of St. Anthony, a Latin oration upon Edward Courtenay's death. From Padua Wilson went to Ferrara, where he graduated as Doctor of Civil Law. In 1558 he was in Rome, where he was sent to prison by the Inquisition for heresy attributed to his English books of Logic and Rhetoric. He said of his imprisonment, "If others neuer gette more by Books than I haue doen, it wer better be a carter than a scholer, for worldlie profite." There was a fire in the prison, and to save the prisoners the doors were broken open by the people. Thomas Wilson then escaped and returned to England, Mary being dead. Queen Elizabeth made him a Master of Requests, and Master of St. Catherine's Hospital, near the Tower. He was accused of seeking too much worldly profit to himself from the possessions of St. Catherine's, and in 1566 he surrendered his grants. In 1570, Thomas Wilson published "The three Orations of Demosthenes chiefe Orator among the Grecians, in favour of the Olynthians, a people in Thracia, now called Romania: with those his fower Orations titled expressly and by name against King Philip of Macedonie: most nedefull to be redde in these dangerous dayes, of all them that love their countries libertie, and desire to take warning for their better avayle, by example of others. Englished out of the Greeke." Philip of Macedon: Philip of Spain. The queen employed Dr. Wilson on commissions and embassies. In 1571, by reason of his Italian Law degree, he was incorporated LL.D. at Cambridge. In 1577 he was appointed Secretary of State, and became a member of the Privy Council. In February,

Translation from Demosthenes.

1580, he was appointed, though a layman, Dean of Durham. He was Dr. Thomas, not Sir Thomas, though sometimes he has been knighted in error. Thomas Wilson resigned his office of Secretary of State in March, 1581, died in the following June, and was buried in the church of St. Catherine's Hospital. He had married the daughter of Sir William Wynter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire, and left one son and two daughters. Mary, his elder daughter, married the Robert Burdet, of Bramcote, to whom Raphael Holinshed was steward.

We may now go to the theatre. Stress had been laid on the success of our first English tragedy—first acted on the first of January, 1561 (new style)—and the queen's command that it should be again presented at Whitehall before herself at Court. Conspicuous success bred imitation.

Rise of the English Drama.

Young barristers and others from the universities, with their careers before them, could see in the success of "Gorboduc" their opportunity if they had wit. There was pleasure to be given to large audiences by real plays in English, and there were companies of actors, servants of great houses trained to the playing of interludes, ready enough to apply their skill to more attractive matter. They lost their licences to act, if in their interludes they were held to have touched religion or government: as actors of plays, in the true classical sense of the word, they would earn more from the people and be less molested by the Government. Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a company of theatrical servants, and had written in 1559, a year or two before the production of "Gorboduc," to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, asking leave for them to play in Yorkshire, they having leave already to play in other shires. In 1560, a few months before the production of "Gorboduc," Sir Thomas Cawarden died, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Benger in his office of Master of the Revels and Masques (*Magister Jocorum, Revellorum, et Mascorum*). Queen

Mary's expenditure on players and musicians had been between two and three thousand pounds a year in salaries. Elizabeth reduced this establishment, but still paid salaries to interlude players and musicians, to a keeper of bears and mastiffs, as well as to the gentlemen and children of the chapel. The master of the children had a salary of forty pounds a year; the children had largesse at high feasts, and when additional use was made of their services; and each gentleman of the chapel had nineteenpence a day, with board and clothing.

The master of the chapel who at this time had the training of the children was Richard Edwards, with whom we have already made acquaintance.* He had written lighter pieces for them to act before her Majesty, and now applied his skill to the writing of English comedies, and teaching his boys to act them for the pleasure of the queen. The new form of entertainment made its way at Court and through the country. "Gorboduc" having been acted before the queen at Whitehall, on the eighteenth of January, 1562, on the first of February following there was a play of "Julius Cæsar" acted at Court.

In 1563 there was a plague in London, of which 21,530 persons died. Archbishop Grindal advised Sir William Cecil, the Secretary (made in 1571 Lord Burghley), to forbid all plays for one year, and if it were for ever, he said, that would not be amiss. They were acted on scaffolds in public places, like the interludes, and, like them, with no more stage appointment than the dressing of the actors. Now that the public thronged to be thus entertained, the place of acting commonly chosen was one of the large inn-yards, which have not yet everywhere disappeared. The yard was a great square rudely paved, entered by an archway, and surrounded by the buildings of the inn, which had an out-

The Play in the Inn-yard.

* "E. W." viii., 213–216.

side gallery on the level of the first floor, and a second gallery sometimes surrounding the yard on the floor above. The inn-yard having been hired for a performance, saving, of course, the rights of customers whose horses were stabled round about, a stage was built at one end under the surrounding gallery. It was enclosed by curtains tent-fashion, which hung from above, and included a bit of the inn-gallery for uses of the drama. The platform was strewn with rushes. Musicians were placed in the gallery outside the curtain. One sound of the trumpet called the public in, and they stood on the rough stones in the yard—the original "pit"—unless they engaged rooms that opened upon the surrounding gallery, in which they might enjoy themselves, and from which they could look out on the actors. Those rooms were the first private boxes, and when buildings were erected for the acting of plays, their private boxes were at first called "rooms." The inn-gallery has been developed into the "dress-circle" of modern times. The second flourish of trumpets invited all spectators to settle themselves in their places. After the third sound of the trumpet the curtain was drawn, and the actors began to represent in action the story made for them into a play. There was no scenery. The bit of inn-gallery included between the curtains might be a balcony for a Juliet, a town-wall or a tower to be defended, a palace-roof, or any raised place that was required by the action. The writer and the actors of the play were the whole play. They alone must present everything by their power to the imaginations of those upon whom they exercised their art. Beyond the dressing of the actors, there were only the most indispensable bits of stage appointment; as a seat, if the story required that one should sit, or a table if necessary. But if the poet wanted scene-painting, he must paint his own scene in his verse.

It is evident also from contemporary satires that the actors did not stint sound and fury where the play allowed

it. But although the greater part of the audience was uneducated, there were present also the courtiers, scholars, and poets, who were exacting in their notions of wit. The writers were young university men, with credit for wit at stake; and while the plays in the inn-yards could not satisfy the crowd that paid to see them unless they told good stories vigorously and sent their scenes home to the common sympathies of men, the poets who wrote them were compelled to keep in mind the taste of the polite world, by whose judgment socially they must needs stand or fall. Plays written, not for the inn-yards, but for the Court, might appeal only to appetite for wit, and, neglecting the deeper passions of life, play fancifully with a classical fable, or work out ingeniously, through mythological details, some subtle under-thought or delicate piece of compliment to the queen.

"Misogonus."

John Payne Collier, in his "History of English Dramatic Poetry," described fully from manuscript a play called "Misogonus," of which the part following the fourth scene of the fourth act is wanting. The name of Thomas Rychardes is appended to the prologue, and its date is inferred from a passage in which the age of one of the characters is to be found. Three women, who were present at his birth, are asked to "lay all their heads together," and a countryman, who is the husband of one of them, says:—"It were after the rising rection i' th' North, I remember well." The women agree to this, and the required age is then found to be twenty-four. As 1536 was the date of the great (insur)rection in the North, twenty-four added to that gives 1560, and this piece may be a few months older than "Gorboduc." One is said in the play to have no more wit than the weathercock of St. Paul's. The spire of St. Paul's was burnt in 1561, and the weathercock, put up in 1553, was then no more. This tallies with the other evidence that gives 1560 as the probable date of the play. A

former owner of the MS. wrote his name on it, with a date, the twentieth of November, 1577. The story is of a father, Philogonus, who has a profligate son, Misogonus. The father complains to a friend Eupelas, who vainly hopes to bring the profligate to reason. Cacurgus, the fool of the play, a domestic fool, who also calls himself after Henry VIII.'s fool—Will Summer—joins Misogonus in mischief, till a good elder brother is discovered; Misogonus is deserted by his servants, and repents. The piece has interspersed songs, and some changes of metre, but is mainly written in four-lined stanzas of this form :—

> "You may perceive what I am, so much I do laugh :
> A fool, you know, can keep no measure.
> My master is Waltum, and I Waltum's calf;
> A fool in laughter putteth all his pleasure."

Thomas Preston, M.A., a Fellow of King's College, who became LL.D., and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, is said to have pleased Queen Elizabeth so greatly by his acting in the tragedy of "Dido," presented before her by his university, in 1564, that she granted him twenty pounds a year for doing so. Perhaps this included recognition of skill as a dramatist, for he was the author of the play of "Cambyses," to which Shakespeare is supposed to have alluded when he made Falstaff, in the first part of "Henry IV.," offer to rebuke the Prince in character of his father, saying, "Give me a cup of sack to make mine eyes look red, that it might be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein." The play is said to have been acted in 1561, as early as "Gorboduc," and it is called a comedy, but it is neither comedy nor tragedy. The Vice of the Morality appears in it as the furtherer of mischief, whose duplicity gives him the name of Ambidexter. Other allegorical characters help to work out the lesson upon the responsibility

"Cambyses."

of kings and magistrates, which is drawn from the story of Cambyses. In the printed black letter copy there is indication of the manner in which the numerous characters of the piece were distributed among eight actors, one youth playing Lord Smirdis, Ruff, and Venus. Until after the Commonwealth no women acted on the English stage. The parts of women were performed by boys.

At Christmas, 1564-65, a tragedy by Richard Edwards was acted before the queen, in her palace of Whitehall—Wolsey's, York Place—by the children of Her Majesty's Chapel, of whom he had become Master in 1561. Edwards was born in Somersetshire in 1523, was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, at its foundation in 1547, and at Elizabeth's Court was known as musician as well as poet. The tragedy of his acted before the Court at Christmas, 1564, is supposed to have been his "Tragical Comedy," as he called it, of "Damon and Pythias," which was not printed until 1582.

"Damon and Pythias."

It is a play in which the worth of friendship was the dominant or central thought. The speaker of the prologue began his address to the assembled company with a reference to the old interludes, justified comedy fitly written according to the rules of Horace, and disclaimed any intention to point to other courts than that of Dionysius at Syracuse. The play begins with Aristippus, a philosopher who seeks his own advantage as a parasite. The real Aristippus is said to have been born at Cyrene, and though once a disciple of Socrates, to have founded in philosophy the Cyrenaic school, which encouraged full refined enjoyment of the pleasure of the sense. His freedom of life offended the Athenians, and he left Athens to become a flatterer of Dionysius of Syracuse. Aristippus has benefited himself at the expense of Carisophus, a parasite once prosperous but who has decayed since flattery at Court grew daintier in fashion. The two self-seekers become false friends and flatter each other. Friendship being the theme

of the play, and the self-denial that true friendship involves, we have here, as foil in the setting of Damon and Pythias, the friendship between self-seekers. Aristippus, when he is left alone, muses philosophically upon the jest of friendship between a philosopher and an ass. Yet, he adds,—

"Yet have I played with his beard in knitting this knot;
I promised friendship, but—you love few words—I spake it but meant it not.
Who markes this friendship between us two
Shall judge of the worldly friendship without more ado.
It may be a right pattern thereof; but true friendship indeed
Of nought but of virtue doth truly proceed."

The story of Damon and Pythias is set forth, of course, as the right pattern of true friendship, and it introduces two laments sung to the regals, a small portable chamber organ. Carisophus, who, as a spy and informer, for his own gain brings the true friends into their trouble, looks in vain for help to the false friend Aristippus when his own time of distress comes. A song at the end prays that Queen Elizabeth may have true, constant, present friends.

"True friends for their true prince refuse not their death:
The Lord grant her such friends, most noble Elizabeth."

In contrasting the false with the true friendship, Edwards rightly planned his play by making the main incident in the story of Damon and Pythias arise distinctly from the action of Aristippus and Carisophus. But he stopped the play in one place for the introduction of clown business that had no place in its action. Instead of dispersed fooling he gave fooling in the lump as an episode of the shaving of Grim the Collier, slightly connected with the plot by a few allusions, but essentially a distinct interlude. It allows inartistically for an imagined interval before the crowning incident

The Shaving of Grim the Collier.

of the play, and occupies, with irrelevant matter, the greater part of what should represent the fourth act, in which interest and expectation ought to be raised to the utmost. It is early morning before the palace gate. Jack and Will enter, quarrel about their masters, fight together before the palace gate, are quieted by angry words from Snap, the tipstaff, who passes by, become friends, and then unite in jesting talk with Grim the Collier, who has been long waiting for somebody to open the gate and take in the cōals he has brought "for the king's mouth." Grim boasts of his savings; lectures the two mischievous pages, Jack and Will, on their bombast hose; is plied with wine by them; and asks whether it be true that Dionysius is shaved by his own daughters, upon which says Jack—

Will, this knave is drunk; let us dress him,
Let us rifle him so that he have not one penny to bless him,
And steal away his debentures too.
Will. Content; invent the way and I am ready.
Jack. Faith, and I will make him a noddy.
Father Grim, if you pay me well, I will wash you and shave you too,
Even after the same fashion as the king's daughters do;
In all points as they handle Dionysius, I will dress you trim and fine.
Grim. Chould fain learn that; come on then, I'll give thee a whole pint of wine
At tavern for thy labour, when I've money for my bentures here.
Here Will fetcheth a barber's bason, a pot with water, a razor, and clothes, and a pair of spectacles.
Jack. Come, mine own father Grim, sit down.

Then follows a burlesque scene of the shaving, during which Grim is robbed of his money, and a burlesque three-part song is sung to a burden of "too nidden, and todle todle doo nidden," with Grim's rejoicing that "me think ich am lighter than ever ich was." They all depart happy, but Grim soon returns with outcry on his loss, and finding Snap the tipstaff, is taken by him into the palace to identify the rogues.

Then what may be called the fifth act opens, with a scene of the false friendship before the demonstration of the true. Carisophus, having opposed himself to Eubulus, has fallen into disgrace at Court, and looks in vain for aid to his "friend" Aristippus.

It was not often possible, in the first days of the English drama, to keep the welcome fooling of the clown within the bounds of art. The interlude of Grim the Collier, in Richard Edwards's "Damon and Pythias," was a mere interruption to the play. As we are now at the beginning of the story of our acted drama, let us definitely note what a play is. A play is the story of one human action, shown throughout by imagined words and deeds of the persons concerned in it, artfully developing a problem in human life, and ingeniously solving it after having excited strong natural interest and curiosity as to the manner of solution. It must not be too long to be presented to spectators at a single sitting.

What is a Play?

A work wanting in any one of these requirements is either no play at all, or a bad play. It must be a story of action, not a recital of thought in the form of dialogue; and it must be the story of a single action, its whole sequence of events bound together by their relation of cause or effect to the main incident on which all turns. When two stories are interwoven they must be necessary to each other, and so blended as to become one to the understanding. This one story is not written to be only read, but to be shown, the persons of it seeming actually to appear and speak and act; their words and deeds must also be imagined for them, not literally repeated out of chronicles, and must be shaped throughout by the poet's art to excite human interest in the development of some problem of human life. Mere imitation of a piece of life in dialogue is not a play. The incidents shown must be ingeniously contrived to appeal to the natural feelings of spectators—they must tie a knot in

human affairs more or less intricate, excite curiosity as to the way of its untying, and then succeed in using the best force of intellect to untie it fitly. As the work is to be shown to spectators, its length must be proportioned to their physical power of sitting at ease to hear it through; and for right apprehension of a play, when read at home for the first time, it is necessary that the reader should, like the spectator, not approach it till he knows that he has the time required for giving his whole mind to it and taking all in at one sitting. Full appreciation comes only by later study of detail, but there can be no safe study of detail in any work of genius before it has been allowed to make its natural impression, as a whole, upon a mind simply and unreservedly receptive of its influence.

"Gammer Gurton's Needle."

John Still, who lived to be Bishop of Bath and Wells, was in his twenty-third year when his comedy of "Gammer Gurton's Needle" was acted, in 1566, at Christ's College, Cambridge. This is supposed to be the first play that was acted in English at either of the universities. It was printed, in 1575, as "A Ryght Pithy, Pleasaunt, and Merie Comedie: Intytuld Gammer Gurton's Needle; Played on Stage not longe ago in Christes Colledge in Cambridge. Made by Mr. S. Master of Art." Thomas Warton, having been misled into supposing that it was first printed in 1551, and having so described it in his "History of Poetry," "Gammer Gurton's Needle" was for some years taken to be the first English comedy. John Still was born at Grantham about 1543. He entered Christ's College as a pensioner in 1559, graduated as B.A. in 1562, M.A. in 1565. He proceeded B.D. in 1570, and succeeded Thomas Cartwright, to whom he had not been hostile, as Margaret Professor of Divinity. He became chaplain to Archbishop Parker, who gave him in 1571 the Suffolk rectory of Hadleigh, and in 1573 the vicarage of East Markham, in Nottingham. In July, 1574, Still was elected Master

of St. John's College. In 1575 he became D.D., and was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University. When Whitgift left Trinity College in 1577, Dr. Still was his successor there in the office of Master. John Still lived until 1608, and was a bishop during the last fifteen years of his life.

"Gammer Gurton's Needle" is not such a play as a Bishop would have written, for its fun is associated with some coarseness of jesting common to the good old time, from which "Ralph Roister Doister" was free only because it was written by a schoolmaster for public acting by his boys. John Still wrote as a young man with high spirits, to amuse his comrades. Fun is abundant in this comedy of rustic life, and its jesting—at the rudest—only sins against later convention, the play being in no thought or word immoral. It is indelicate, but not indecent. Gammer Gurton is patching the breeches of her man Hodge, when the cat upsets the milk-pan. Gammer drops her work, chases the cat, and when she comes back she cannot find her needle. The second act is opened with the old song beginning—

"Back and side go bare, go bare,
Both foot and hand go cold;
But belly, God send thee good ale enough
Whether it be new or old.

"I can not eat but little meat,
My stomach is not good;
But sure I think that I can drink
With him that wears a hood.

"Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I am no thing a-cold;
I stuff my skin so full within
Of jolly good ale and old.

"Back and side go bare, go bare,
Both foot and hand go cold;
But belly, God send thee good ale enough,
Whether it be new or old."

Diccon the Bedlam raises sport by persuading Gammer Gurton that Dame Chat, her gossip, has found the needle. Says Diccon—

> "Here will the sport begin if these two once may meet—
> Their cheer, durst lay money, will prove scarcely sweet,
> My Gammer sure intends to be upon her bones
> With staves or with clubs or else with cobble stones.
> Dame Chat on the other side if she be far behind
> I am right far deceived, she is given to it of kind.
> He that may tarry by it a while, and that but short,
> I warrant him, trust to it, he shall see all the sport."

Having taken these lines as example of the measure of the play, we must not "tarry by it," except to record how "the needle" is found at last. Diccon is sworn to sundry comical conditions upon Hodge's leather breeches when Hodge has them on, and he enforces his vows with so hearty a thump that he sends the needle, lurking in the breeches, into Hodge's buttock, where it calls attention to itself.

"Palamon and Arcyte."

In the year 1566, when Gascoigne's "Supposes" and "Jocasta" were acted in the Hall at Gray's Inn, Richard Edwards's play of "Palamon and Arcyte" was acted before Queen Elizabeth in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford. At the beginning of the play part of the stage fell down, whereby five persons were hurt and three were killed. The scaffolding was reconstructed, the play went on, and the queen enjoyed it, giving eight guineas to one of the young actors who had pleased her much.

A Harleian MS. (No. 146) contains a warrant for the payment of £634 9s. 8d. to Sir Thomas Benger for the costs of plays at Court from July 14th, 1567, to March 3rd, 1578. There were seven plays, named "As Plain as can be," "The Painful Pilgrimage," "Jack and Gill," "Six Fools," "Wit and Will," "Prodigality," and "Orestes," with a tragedy, "The King of Scots," making an eighth play, and

the detail of accounts shows that in plays at Court some scenery was used, for it is said in the warrant for payment that to these plays "belonged divers howses for the settinge forthe of the same, as Stratoes howse, Dobbyn's howse, Orestes howse, Rome, The Pallace of Prosperitie, Scotlande and a great Castell on thothere side."

Plays at Court.

At Court it was the business of the Master of the Revels to have plays rehearsed before him, and to choose the best for the Queen's entertainment. In the course of 1571, Elizabeth had represented before her "Lady Barbara," by Sir Robert Lane's men; "Iphigenia," by the children of Paul's; "Ajax and Ulysses," by the children of Windsor; "Narcissus," by the children of the chapel; "Cloridon and Radiamanta," by Sir Robert Lane's men; "Paris and Viene," by the children of Westminster. The children were in each case boys of the choir trained also to act.

First Patent to the Earl of Leicester's Company of Players.

In May, 1574, the Earl of Leicester, who was a good friend to the stage, procured for those of his servants forming his own company of players the first royal patent to a dramatic company. By this patent James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson were privileged to act within the City of London and its Liberties, and in any other city, "provided that the said Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, and Stage Plays be, by the Master of the Revels for the time being, before seen and allowed; and that the same be not published or shown in the time of Common Prayer, or in the time of great and common Plague in our city of London."

Reservation of the time of Common Prayer points to the fact that the earliest plays were presented to the people chiefly on Sundays and saints' days. Before the Reformation, usage that still prevails in Roman Catholic countries gave the holiday time after church to sports and

entertainments of the people. In the reformed Church of England the discipline of Calvin, who laid stress upon the keeping holy of the Sabbath Day, was not accepted at all points, though insisted upon by that large section of the Church called by Archbishop Parker Puritan or Precisian. Tolerance of Sunday sports became, indeed, in after years one of the grounds of contest between Puritans and their opponents. In 1574, the Mayor and Corporation of London represented Puritan opinion, and objected strongly to the forcing of the players on the City. Then Leicester procured the writing of a letter from the Privy Council that required the Lord Mayor "to admit the Comedy Players within the City of London, and to be otherwise favourably used." The Corporation argued against this, objecting to performances on sacred days; to the unmeet drawing of young men and maids to the inns; to the waste of money; to the seditious matter that might be spoken on the stage; to the danger by occasional fall of scaffolding, as well as by chance hurt of the players with weapons and gunpowder used in performances; to the risk of contagion by bringing together crowds, among whom would be some sick of plague or other infectious disease. The Common Council framed regulations that required each exhibition of a play to have its separate licence from the mayor, and half its profits to be given to the poor; but had not long patience even with this limited toleration, and in December, 1575, issued a complete prohibition of the performance of plays in the City, and prayed the Lords that they would issue a like prohibition for all "places near unto the City." The Justices of Middlesex had joined the Corporation in its opposition to the players, who then appealed for protection to the Privy Council. In its answer to their appeal, the City said: "It may be noted how uncomely it is for youth to run straight from prayers to plays, from God's service to the devil's." If the Earl of

Opposition by the Mayor and Corporation of London.

Leicester's company, known as the Queen's Players, was to be forced on the City, let the names of these actors be registered and none but just these be suffered to appear upon a stage in London; and, it was urged, let them not act when the death-rate is over fifty a week. Forty or fifty being then the average death-rate when there was no plague, and plague or other spread of sickness being very common in those days of unwholesome dwellings, this was another way of getting an approach to prohibition.

In 1576, the City desired to stop acting at inns, and proposed that the players should be required to perform in private houses (where there would be no room for an audience large enough to pay them for their skill); that they should never act on the Sabbath, nor on holidays of the Church till after evening prayer, and then never so late as to make it impossible for every one of the spectators who stayed to the end to reach home before dark. Moreover, there was to be no acting unless the death-rate had been for twenty days below fifty a week. Breach of these orders was to be followed by forfeiture of toleration.

Upon such terms it was impossible for any actors to live under the control of the City of London. James Burbage and his companions were, therefore, driven to look for a place outside the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction where they might still be within reach of the considerable audiences to be drawn from London. Such a place there was among the houses built upon the ground that had once belonged to the great monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars. The monastery had been built in the time of Edward I., and had a handsome church with privileges, including right of sanctuary. Its large precinct enclosed many shops, and had been entered by four gates. Its inhabitants, exempt from City law, were subject only to the king, to the Superior of the monastery, and to their own justices. Several Parliaments had been

Escape of the Players from the City.

held in the great church of the Black Friars, and there, in 1529 Wolsey and Campeggio had heard the question of divorce between Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon. At the dissolution of the monasteries, Black Friars was surrendered to the king in 1538. In 1547 the Prior's lodgings and the Hall were sold to Sir Francis Bryan, and afterwards Edward VI. granted the rest to Sir Thomas Cawarden.

The site of the monastery and its precincts—not included within the liberties of the City till the reign of James I.—became, in Elizabeth's day, a fashionable quarter. But that James Burbage and his fellow players, to escape control of the Corporation, took a house in Blackfriars, and converted it into a theatre of their own, is a conjecture that seems to have been backed by manufactured evidence of opposition from the neighbours. Nevertheless they achieved their object, and although the Blackfriars Theatre was not built till about twenty years later, they erected elsewhere in 1576 two buildings for the distinct purpose of presenting plays in them. These were outside the City bounds, in the pleasant fields at Shoreditch, a quarter then preferred for the houses and gardens of rich foreign merchants trading in London. The new houses were called "The Theatre," and "The Curtain," built on the south-western side of the site of the suppressed Priory of St. John the Baptist, called Holywell. One recommendation of the place chosen for them was that outside Bishopsgate, a well-kept street (now Bishopsgate Street Without) extended for some distance into the open country, and thus gave easy and safe way of approach for the play-goers. The Bull in Bishopsgate Street was an old inn used by the players; another was the Bell in Gracechurch Street, another was near St. Paul's, and there were rooms or inn-yards used by the players in Whitefriars and Blackfriars, also the Bell Savage on

The first London Theatres.

Ludgate Hill. Prices of admission were mentioned by William Lambarde, in his "Perambulation of Kent." "Those," he said, "who go to Paris Garden, the Bell Savage, or Theatre to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play, must not account of any pleasing spectacle unless first they pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and the third for quiet standing." Four years afterwards, such acting within the City as still lingered in its inn-yards was finally suppressed. At one of the inn-yards—that of the Belle Sauvage on Ludgate Hill, where now these pages are printed—it was said that the devil in person appeared one day on the stage to play his own part for himself among his friends.

In 1576, when the first theatres were built, Shakespeare was twelve years old. In that year Stephen Gosson, a young man of Kent, who had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, came to London at the age of twenty-one, wrote poetry, and attached himself as author and player to the new Curtain Theatre. He wrote a tragedy on "Catiline's Conspiracies," and a comedy called "Captain Mario," now lost. But while young Gosson was among the actors, his religious mind inclined more and more to the side of the preachers who condemned the stage. In a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, on the 3rd of November, 1577, in time of plague, the Rev. Thomas Wilcox said :—"Look but upon the common plays in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them : behold the sumptuous theatre-houses, a continual monument of London's prodigality and folly. But I understand they are now forbidden because of the plague. I like the policy well if it hold still, for a disease is but botched or patched up that is not cured in the cause, and the cause of plagues is sin if you look to it well ; and the cause of sin are plays ; therefore the cause of plagues are plays."

Stephen Gosson.

In the same year, 1577, John Northbrook published a "Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays or Interludes," in which Youth asks Age, "Do you speak against those places also which are made up and builded for such plays and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtain is, and other much like places besides?" Age objects to all the "stageplayers and enterludes which are now practised amongst us so universally in town and country." On the twenty-fourth of August, 1578, the Rev. John Stockwood, of Tunbridge, preaching at Paul's Cross, said:—"Will not a filthy play, with the blast of a trumpet, sooner call thither a thousand than an hour's tolling of the bell bring to the sermon a hundred?" And he said of the plays:—"Have we not houses of purpose built with great charges for the maintenance of them, and that without the liberties, as who would say, There! Let them say what they will say, we will play? I know not how I might, with the godly learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing places erected in the fields than to term it, as they please to have it called, a Theatre. . . . I will not here enter this disputation, whether it be utterly unlawful to have any plays, but will only join in this issue, whether in a Christian Commonwealth they be tolerable on the Lord's Day."

Stephen Gosson was convinced by 1579 that he should not only quit the theatre, but join with his own voice in the denunciations of it, and he published in that year a pamphlet called "The School of Abuse, containing a Pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and such-like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth." Here he condemned alike poets and players. But it is noticeable that in speaking of the dramatists he deals with the probable answer of "some Archplayer or other that hath read a little," who might say that the immorality of the old comedies was no part of the plays then seeking favour of the people. "The comedies that are

"The School of Abuse."

exercised in our days are better sifted. They show no such bran. The first smelt of Plautus, these taste of Menander. The lewdness of gods is altered and changed to the love of young men; force to friendship; wooing allowed by assurance of wedding. Nor are the abuses of the world revealed; every man in a play may see his own faults, and learn by this glass to amend his manners. Deformities are checked in jest and mated in earnest. The sweetness of music and pleasure of sports temper the bitterness of rebukes." In such wise Gosson, while attacking the stage, represents the claim it then put forward to be a teacher of duty and upholder of all that was honest and of good report. The plays that have come down to us from those times bear witness to the truth of such a plea, and Gosson does not contradict it. For what is his reply? "They are either so blind that they cannot, or so blunt that they will not, see why this exercise should not be suffered as a profitable recreation. For my part, I am neither so fond a physician nor so bad a cook but I can allow my patient a cup of wine to meals, although it be hot; and pleasant fancies to drive down his meat if his stomach be queasy. Notwithstanding, if people will be instructed, God be thanked, we have divines enough to discharge that, and more by a great many than are well hearkened to." The substantial ground of offence was retention of the old custom of Sunday entertainment—Sabbath conflict between the trumpets summoning to plays and the bells summoning to prayers.

Gosson dedicated his "School of Abuse" to Philip Sidney. Edmund Spenser, who was then a young man of about six-and-twenty, publishing his "Shepherd's Calendar," while for a short time in employment of the Earl of Leicester, wrote in October, 1579, to his friend Gabriel Harvey, "New books I hear of none, but only of one that, writing a certain book and dedicating it to Master Sidney, was for his labour scorned; if at least it be in the goodness of that

nature to scorn. Such folly is it, not to regard aforehand the inclination and quality of him to whom we dedicate our books." There can be little doubt that a Puritan outcry against poets, brought home to him by the dedication of Gosson's pamphlet, caused Philip Sidney to write, in 1580 or 1581, his "Apologie for Poetrie," which was not published until 1595, after its author's death. This book reasoned boldly and calmly for the poet's art, that it is first among the exercises of man's intellect. The poet must delight and teach. All worthy pursuits of men, "one and other, having this scope, to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying of his own divine essence." "Now, thereon," said Philip Sidney, "of all sciences (I speak still of human and according to the human conceit) is our poet the monarch. For he doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way as will entice any man to enter into it. Nay, he doth as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the first give you a cluster of grapes; that full of that taste you may long to pass farther. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margent with interpretations and load the memory with doubtfulness; but he cometh to you with words set in delightful proportions, either accompanied with or prepared for the well-enchanting skill of music; and with a tale forsooth he cometh unto you; with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner. And pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things by hiding them in such others as have a pleasant taste, which if one should begin to tell them the nature of aloes or rhubarb they would sooner take their physic at their ears than at their mouth. So it is in men (most of which are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves), glad they will be to hear the tales

of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, and Æneas, and hearing them must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice; which if they had been barely, that is to say philosophically, set out, they would swear they be brought to school again." Sir Philip Sidney spoke here for his fellow-poets and for his time as well as for himself.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN THE YOUNG DAYS OF SIDNEY AND RALEIGH.

SIDNEY, Raleigh, Spenser were nearly alike in age—all of them under thirty—in the year to which (Spenser excepted) this Book carries our history. Philip Sidney was born at Penshurst, in November, 1554, eldest child of Sir Henry Sidney, who was at the time of his son's birth twenty-five years old, and had been knighted four years before, in company with Sir William Cecil. His mother had been Lady Mary Dudley; she was daughter to the Duke of Northumberland and sister to Sir Robert Dudley, who in 1564 was created Earl of Leicester. The next child of the household was a daughter, Mary, one year younger than Philip, his companion in childhood, and the only sister who lived to become a woman.

Philip Sidney.

At the accession of Elizabeth, Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Justice of Ireland; he then served as Lord President of Wales, and in October, 1565, still acting as President of Wales by deputy, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. There "O'Neil the Great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, and enemy to all the world besides," seizing the occasion given in 1560 by the attempt of the Earl of Sussex to enforce Protestantism on the Irish Catholics, had made himself master of the north and west. Sir Henry battled bravely and generously with the real difficulties of his position, while his credit at Court in London was

being impaired by complaints that arose from selfish jealousies of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond in the south. As Lord President of Wales and the Marches of the same—namely, the four counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Shropshire—having his Court at Ludlow Castle, Sir Henry Sidney had sent his son Philip, a grave studious boy, to Shrewsbury school. In 1568 Philip went to Oxford, where Christ Church was his college. Sir Henry Sidney was during his son's Oxford days Lord Deputy of Ireland, and sometimes at home in Ludlow as Lord President. Sidney remained three years at Oxford, where one of his chief friends was a student of his own age, who had been his schoolfellow at Shrewsbury, Fulke Greville.

Fulke Greville.

Fulke Greville, who was of an old Warwickshire family, afterwards became an ornament of Elizabeth's Court, and lived into the time of Charles I., being throughout his life the influential friend of many poets and scholars. He was knighted by Elizabeth in 1591, and was raised to the peerage, as Lord Brooke, in 1627. He became a very thoughtful poet, to whom full attention will hereafter become due. It was Fulke Greville who, after Sir Philip Sidney's early death, wrote a short memoir of his friend.

Philip Sidney.

In 1571, during a time of plague, Philip Sidney left Oxford, in his seventeenth year, without having taken a degree. In the same year his father, who had prayed for recall from Ireland if he could not be more firmly supported in his office, obtained leave of absence. His post in Ireland was then given to another; and the queen, who had the year before raised Sir William Cecil to the peerage, as Lord Burghley, offered a peerage also to Sir Henry Sidney. But Sidney was three thousand pounds the poorer for his Irish duties, and declined an honour he had not means to sustain. He remained Lord President of Wales; and his son Philip, after

leaving Oxford, was for a time probably with his uncle Leicester at Court. In May, 1572, Philip Sidney went with the embassy of the Earl of Lincoln to treat on the question of Elizabeth's marriage to the Duke of Alençon. He went commended by his uncle's letters to the friendship of Francis Walsingham, English Ambassador in Paris. He did not return with Lord Lincoln, but remaining in Paris, he was there on the twenty-fourth of August, sheltered in Walsingham's house, during the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Twelve years before, when Charles IX., ten or eleven years old, became king, his mother, Catherine de' Medici, had begun rule for him with a policy of conciliation. But the strife of souls was too intense to endure compromise. In March, 1562, it sprang into civil war at the Massacre of Vassy. The Huguenots rose to arms, under the Prince of Condé as head of the Protestant League. Philip of Spain aided the Catholics with troops and money. Elizabeth of England aided the French Protestants with troops, who garrisoned Havre, Rouen, and Dieppe. The King of Navarre having received a mortal wound at the siege of Rouen, the Duke of Guise became sole head of the French Catholic party. His assassination left open the way to a peace, by the Edict of Amboise, in March, 1563, which was needed for the safety of the throne. In the following year Catherine was visited by her daughter Elizabeth, whom, in 1560, Philip of Spain, aged thirty-four, had married, her age being then fifteen, and she betrothed to his son, Don Carlos. With Elizabeth came Philip's counsellor of war, the Duke of Alva. Between Catherine and Alva there was at that time much private discourse, of which one phrase was overheard by young Henry of Béarn. The Duke of Alva was exhorting Catherine to get rid of a few leaders of the Huguenots, and said, "One head of salmon is worth ten thousand heads of

frogs." Still Catherine kept peace. In December, 1565, a new Pope, Pius V., became head of the Catholic Church, austere, devout, inflexible in a resolve to support Christendom against the Turks armed in the Mediterranean, and to put forth all his might against the heretics. New prisons had to be built in Rome, and Italian men of genius who thought too freely were among his victims. In the summer of 1567 the Duke of Alva was, as we have seen, allowed to march an army through France to the Netherlands, where the spirit of independence had been gaining strength.

We have already followed to the Netherlands Churchyard and Gascoigne; but the influence of events there was so great on the best youth of England—so very great on Philip Sidney and on Spenser—that we may risk a little repetition while we add a fact or two in taking one swift glance over the ground already traversed. In March, 1563, the nobles of the Netherlands, guided chiefly by William Prince of Orange, who had for supporters the Counts Egmont and Horn, had formed themselves into a league against the government of Cardinal Granvella, who was forced to retire in March, 1564. Meanwhile, Calvinism had spread in the Low Countries, and the regent Margaret, who inclined towards the nobles, was urged by Philip to strong measures. In October, 1565, Philip wrote a letter requiring that the edicts against heresy should be enforced as heretofore. The Prince of Orange and the nobles obtained from the regent its immediate publication, and a storm of feeling was excited that caused Margaret to ask leave to resign. Flemings began to emigrate by thousands into England, where they set up looms. On the eleventh of November, François Dujon, called Francis Junius, preached at Brussels before the Flemish nobles. This Junius was an ardent scholar, who had been studying at Geneva when his father was slain by a fanatical crowd while he was inquiring into a

The Struggle in the Netherlands.

massacre of Huguenots within their place of worship at Issoudun. Francis Junius forswore France, lived for a time at Geneva by giving lessons in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and was then called to the Netherlands as pastor of the Huguenot congregation which met secretly at Antwerp. After the sermon of Junius, some Flemish nobles formed a distinct league against oppressions of the Government, and Philip Van Marnix, Lord of Mont Saint-Aldegonde, a young man of twenty-seven, who had been trained at Geneva, where he was the friend of Calvin, drew up what was known as the "Act of Compromise." This Act, in January, 1566, set forth the mind of the League by denouncing the Inquisition as illegal and iniquitous, and binding the subscribers to defend one another in a resistance that was not against allegiance to the king. The League was formed without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange, and discountenanced by him; but he, at the same time, as Governor of Holland and Zeeland, resisted the king's letter. The strong feeling and strong action of the native population produced what was called a "moderation" of the law against heresy—hanging was put for burning. Then missionaries preached to crowds of the people in woods, plains, villages, and suburbs of towns; and this was the state of things in the Netherlands in the first year of the Papacy of Pius V. Philip made some illusory concessions while he levied troops; contests arose in the Netherlands between royalist troops and insurgent people; but presently the King of Spain was again master, Holland being last to yield. Meanwhile there was continued passage of Protestant Netherlanders into England, quickened by dread of the approach of Alva with a Spanish force. Alva was urged by Pope Pius V., as he passed near Geneva, to "clean out that nest of devils and apostates," but he marched steadily on, and entered Brussels with his Spaniards on the twenty-second of August, 1567. This was when Edmund

Spenser was a boy of fifteen, under Dr. Mulcaster; when England was filled with reports of persecution in the Netherlands, from refugee Flemings who were bringing into England industry of the loom and wealth of commerce, with new impulse to the love of liberty; and when one of the refugees, John van der Noodt, was presently to cause the young poet to write his first lines for the printer in a declaration of "the miseries and calamities that follow worldlings, and the joys and pleasures which the faithful do enjoy."

Joys of the faithful,—although Alva garrisoned the towns of the Netherlands with a licentious Spanish soldiery, seized Egmont and Horn, prohibited emigration, organised the Council of Tumults, known as the "Council of Blood." Margaret retired; Alva succeeded to her powers as regent and governor-general. On the sixteenth of February, 1568, a sentence of the Inquisition condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death, except a few specially named. In a letter to Philip, Alva reckoned at eight hundred the executions to take place after Passion-week. Money was raised by confiscation. In the summer of that year, 1568, the Prince of Orange published his justification against condemnation passed upon him, repudiated the Council of Tumults, and declared that he had become a Protestant. By sentence of the Council of Tumults, the Counts Egmont and Horn were executed on the fifth of June. The Duke of Alva took two "heads of salmon." Alva's troops had then a victorious campaign against armed opposition, and their leader praised himself for having trampled down heresy and rebellion.

News like this from the Netherlands stirred the blood of the French Huguenots, and, at the close of the year 1567 a second civil war began. In 1568 there was a pause; but early in the spring of 1569 war was resumed, and then young Walter Raleigh came to share in the struggle, as one of a company of English volunteers.

Walter Raleigh was of the same age as Spenser, born in 1552, at the manor house of Hayes Barton, about a mile from Budleigh, in Devonshire. In 1566 he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford, where he remained three years; and at the age of seventeen he left college without a degree to join as a volunteer the Protestants in France. His mother was third wife of Walter Raleigh, of Hayes Barton. Her maiden name was Champernon, and by a former marriage with Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, she had three sons, of whom one became famous as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the great navigator. Her relative, Henry Champernon, raised a troop of a hundred mounted Englishmen to aid the Huguenots in France; and Walter Raleigh, who had gone before his cousin in 1569, shared the defeats of the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, shared their successes of 1570, had interest also in the treaty of August, 1570, which conceded much to the Reformers, and which was protested against by Pius V. and Philip II. In the spring of 1571 a Synod of the Reformed Church was held by the king's permission at Rochelle. Admiral Coligny was welcomed at Court, and the king even prepared an expedition in aid of the persecuted Reformers in the Netherlands. The expedition was begun. The king seemed ready to take Coligny's advice, and declare war with Spain, against the counsel of his mother. On the eighteenth of August, 1572, Henry of Navarre was married to Marguerite of Valois. The twenty-fourth was St. Bartholomew's Day, the day of the concerted massacre of Huguenots in Paris and the provinces of France, which happened at the time when Philip Sidney was in Paris.

Walter Raleigh.

No peace was secured; Rochelle revolted, and Raleigh remained to fight awhile in France, while Philip Sidney travelled on alone to Strasburg and Frankfort. In Frankfort he lodged at a printer's, and the youth of eighteen drew to himself the

Philip Sidney.

friendship of a French Huguenot of fifty-five, Hubert Languet, who had once been a Professor of Civil Law in Padua, but who went from Paris to Frankfort as secret minister of the Elector of Saxony. In the grave young Englishman, who had high birth, genius, and manly feeling, who was heir, perhaps, of his uncle Leicester, and possibly the future minister of England, Languet saw hope of his cause in Europe. The elder reformer, therefore, loved the youth, counselled him, and watched over him with fatherly solicitude, of which his extant Latin letters (first published in 1632) bear witness. Sidney wrote of him afterwards in the "Arcadia":—

> "The song I sang old Languet had me taught—
> Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew
> For clerkly reed, and hating what is naught,
> For faithful heart, clean hands, and mouth as true.
> With his sweet skill my skilless youth he drew
> To have a feeling taste of Him that sits
> Beyond the heaven—far more beyond our wits."

With Languet, Philip Sidney went, in 1573, from Frankfort to Vienna; thence, after an excursion into Hungary, he went on to Italy, having for one of his companions Lewis Bryskett, afterwards a friend of Spenser's. After eight weeks in Italy, with Venice for head-quarters, and giving six weeks to Padua, but urged by the anxious Languet not to visit Rome, Sidney returned through Germany, and was back in England by June, 1575. In July he was with the Court, and shared "The Princely Pleasures at the Court at Kenilworth," as they were called by George Gascoigne when he next year published an account of them.

Raleigh came back to London from his service with the Huguenots, and lived for a short time in the Middle Temple, where he wrote a poem of compliment, prefixed in 1576 to Gascoigne's "Steel Glass." In 1578 Sir John Norris crossed to the Low Countries

Raleigh in 1579.

with a small force, of which Raleigh was one, to join in the contest against Don John who, after his triumph over infidels at Lepanto, was to master heretics as Governor of the Netherlands. Early in 1578 the Netherlanders had been banned by the Pope as unbelievers. There was appeal to arms. The forces of Spain had from their Church the privileges of Crusaders. The Spaniards obtained a great victory over the army of the States at Gemblours. War went on nevertheless. In Holland and Zeeland the Reformation was in 1578 formally established by civic revolution, that placed Protestants instead of Catholics in the magistracy at Amsterdam and Haarlem. Raleigh took part in a success of arms on Lammas Day; and Don John died on the first of October, at a time when Raleigh was busy on another enterprise. On the nineteenth of November he sailed from Plymouth with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who took seven ships and 350 men on an expedition that was foiled. They fell in with a Spanish fleet, lost one of their ships, and Gilbert and his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, came back to England in the early summer of 1579, with the wreck of their small force.

Philip Sidney.

Philip Sidney, at the close of 1575, was living in London with his mother. Need of his father's good service in Ireland had been felt, and Sir Henry Sidney had left London in August, again to labour in Ireland as Lord-Deputy. In 1577, though but twenty-two years old, Sidney was sent as ambassador to the new Emperor of Germany, Rudolph II., with formal letters upon his accession, and with private instructions to do what he could towards the promotion of a Protestant League among the princes of the Continent. Hubert Languet was active about him. He came home through the Netherlands, to convey to William of Orange Queen Elizabeth's congratulations on the birth of his first child; and he saw on the way Don John of Austria, that illegitimate son of Charles V.

of whom, when he had, in 1571, triumphed over the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto, Pope Pius V. said, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." When Sidney spoke with him, Don John had been sent from the King of Spain, and had just entered Brussels as Governor-General of the Provinces of the Netherlands.

Sidney found when he came home, in June, 1577, his sister, Mary, married. At the age of twenty she had become, in the preceding February, the third wife of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a quiet and good man of forty. Sidney was now in favour at Court. In April, 1578, when the queen visited Leicester, at Wanstead, he contrived for her pleasure a little occasional masque called "The Lady of May," after this fashion. A masquer, dressed like an honest countrywoman, appeared before the queen as she was walking with her train in Wanstead gardens, and complained of a daughter who was troubled with two suitors. Then six shepherds came out of the wood with the Lady of May, "hauling and pulling to which side they should draw her." An old shepherd, in absurd words, complained that a woman of a minsical countenance had disannulled the brainpan of two of their featiest young men, but produced Master Rombus, the schoolmaster, who could better "disnounce the whole foundation of the matter." Master Rombus "disnounced" pedantry and dog-Latin, in a style very like that afterwards used by Shakespeare's Holofernes, in "Love's Labour's Lost." The May Lady stopped him, and left it to the queen to decide, after hearing their contest in song, which of the shepherds was to be preferred. Then came the rural songs. When the queen was to give judgment, an old shepherd and a forester intervened with argument, in comic prose, whether the estate of shepherds or of foresters were the more worshipful. Rombus, the schoolmaster, interposed again with his pedantry, and was about to judge for the

"The Lady of May."

queen when the May Lady again stopped him. The queen gave what judgment she thought best, the masquers all struck up their music, the one who was declared victor by Her Majesty expressed his joy in song, and the May Lady spoke a little epilogue.

Sidney in 1579.

In July, 1578, Philip Sidney was one of the men of mark who followed Queen Elizabeth to Audley End, and received honours of verse from Gabriel Harvey in the "Walden Gratulations." But Sidney was weary of idleness at Court. His friend, Fulke Greville, returning from a foreign mission, received on his way from William of Orange a message for Elizabeth, craving leave of her freely to speak his knowledge and opinion of a fellow-servant of his who lived unemployed under her. He had had much experience, had seen various times and things and persons, but he protested that Her Majesty had in Mr. Philip Sidney one of the ripest and greatest statesmen that he knew of in all Europe. If Her Majesty would but try the young man, the prince would stake his own credit upon the issue of his friend's employment about any business, either with the allies or with the enemies of England. So Sidney was spoken of in the year 1579, when Edmund Spenser came to London and became his friend. Veteran reformers out of England looked upon young Sidney as the man who joined to high family influence a breadth and force of mind that marked him as their English statesman of the future. An old Huguenot who was busy for his cause, Hubert Languet, loved and watched over Sidney with a fluttering and almost motherly solicitude. His father being a politician much too honest to be rich, Philip's chief wealth was of the mind, and he sought fellowship with men of genius, who delighted in his friendship. He was a poet and a friend of poets; but poet only, as many others were, while seeking, as soldier and statesman, active place among the great builders of England.

INDEX.

"Abridgment of the Chronicles of England," Grafton's, 359, 362, 363
"Acolastus," 14, 89—94
—, Palsgrave's Ecphrasis on, 94—97
Admonition to the Parliament, 328; Cartwright's Second Admonition, 330; Controversy on, 330, 331
Ælian, Tales from, 290
"Æneid," Surrey's translation from the, 28, 61
—, Phaer and Twyne's translation of the, 221
"Ah Robin, gentle Robin," 69
"Ajax and Ulysses" acted at Court, 385
Alamanni, Luigi, 33, 62—64
Alexandrine, The, 66
Algrind, 334
Allegory, 237, 238
Alliteration, 317—319
America, Discovery of, 81
Anglo-Saxon, Revived study of, 197
— — Gospels, 225
"Annals," Stow's, 363
"Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," M. Parker, de, 210
Antithesis, 318, 319
"Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," Jewel's, 200, 201, 202
Arber, Prof. Edward, 212*n*, 322*n*
"Areopagitica," Milton's, 337*n*
Ariosto Lodovico, 52, 53, 88; comedy translated from, 263, 264
Aristippus, 378
"Arte of Logique," Thomas Wilson's, 370
"— — Retorique," Thomas Wilson's, 358, 371
Articles, The Thirty-nine, 163
Artour, Thomas, 87
"As Plain as Can Be," a play, 384
Ascham, Roger, 160, 167—170, 298—305, 349
Aske, Robert, 24, 25
Askew, Anne, Examination of, 113
Asser's Life of Alfred, 210
Astrology, 28, 288
Aulus Gellius, Translation from, 291
Aylmer, John, 181, 188, 334

B

Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 188, 189, 329
Baldwin, William, 239, 240
Bale, John, 82, 83, 102, 103, 111—120
Ballad poetry, 65, 66
Bandello, Matteo, 291
Bapst, Edmond, 48*n*
"Baptistes, Buchanan's," 342, 345 346
Barclay, Alexander, 10
Bartholomew's Day massacre, 396, 397, 399, 400
Bazoche, Clerks of the, 76
Beaton, Cardinal, 133, 342; Lindsay's tragedy of, 131
Becon, Thomas, 152, 153
Bell-Savage, Plays at the, 388, 389
Bellay, Joachim du, 56, 59*n*
Belleforest, François de, 290, 291, 292, 294
Bellenden, John, 368
Benger, Sir Thomas, 373, 374, 384
Bernard, St., Translation from, 215
Bernher, Augustine, 147, 148
Bewe, M., 215, 216
Bible, The Bishops', 205, 210, 211
—, The Geneva, 205—207
—, The Great, 358
Bilney, Thomas, 194
Blackfriars, Plays at, 386, 387
Blank verse, 52, 61—63, 89, 214, 230, 231, 234, 236, 281
Blennerhasset, Thomas, 241
Boccaccio, 61, 239
Bodenham, John, 213
Bodleian Library, 110
Bodley, John, 142, 206
Boëce, Hector, 368
Boisteau, Pierre, 292
Boleyn, Anne, 23, 40, 194
—, George, Lord Rochford, 4, 22, 23
Bonner, Edmund, 32, 39, 167
Book of Homilies, 151, 152, 167
Bordeaux, George Buchanan at, 342
Boscan, Juan, 53, 54
Bouche of Court, 38, 380
Boulogne, Siege of, 39, 40, 111; Surrey Governor of, 41, 42
Bourchier, John, Lord Berners, 36, 37
Bradford, John, 164, 165

Brandon, Henry and Charles, Thomas Wilson on deaths of, 371
Breton, William, 265, 274
—, Nicholas, 274
Brewer, Prof. J. S., 10n
Briell, The taking of, 266
Brissac, Charles du Cossé, Comte de, 348
Bristol, Queen Elizabeth at, 258, 259
British Writers, Bale's Summary of, 113–115
Brooke, Arthur, 287
—, William, Lord Cobham, 366, 367, 369
Browne, Robert, 331, 332
Brownists, 331
Bryan, Sir Francis, 31, 33, 36–38
Brydges, Sir Egerton, 217n
Bucer, Martin, 163, 196
Buchanan, David, 337, 338
—, George, 339–351
Burbage, James, 385, 388
Burton, William, 110
Butts, William, Dr., 9, 194

C

Cæsar's Commentaries translated, 222
Calder House, West Lothian, 140
Calderwood, David, 124
Calvin, John, 132, 141, 144, 145, 159, 206
"Cambyses," a play, 377, 378
Camden, William, 111, 370
Camell, Thomas, 244, 245
Camoens, Luis de, 55
Campion, Edmund, 365
"Cantico del Sole," 61, 62
Careless, John, 166
Carnival Masques, 73, 74
Carro, Anthony de, 295
Cartwright, Thomas, 326–331
Cassillis, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of, 340, 341
Castiglione, Baldassar, 303
Catechism of the Church of England, 324
"Catiline's Conspiracies," 389
Cavendish, George, 251–253
Cawarden, Sir Thomas, 225, 226, 373
Cawood, John, 358, 359
Cecil, Sir William (Lord Burghley), 298–300, 374, 395
"Cefalo," a pastoral, 87
"Celestina," The, 84, 85
"Chamælion," George Buchanan's, 350
Chapel, Children of the, 374
Chapuys, Eustache, 16n
Charles V., Emperor, 143, 150
Cheke, Sir John, 110, 162, 163
Children as actors, 91, 97–99, 374, 378, 385
"Chips," Churchyard's, 254, 258, 259
Christmas, Grand, in the Inner Temple 226–228
"Christus Triumphans," Foxe's, 159
"Chronicle at Large," Grafton's, 359, 363
Churchyard, Thomas, 28, 29, 216, 240, 241, 242–250, 253–261
Cicero, translation of his "De Officiis," 214; Poem on Death of, 214
Cimino, Serafino, Wyatt's translation from, 57, 58
Cinthio, Giovanni Giraldi, 290, 292, 293
Clere, Thomas, 35, 40, 41
"Cloridon and Radiamanta," a Court Play, 385
Clerke, John, 7, 8
Coimbra, George Buchanan at, 346, 347
Cole, Henry, 188, 201, 202
Collections, Leland's, 110, 111
Collier, John Payne, 212n
Comedy, 82, 83; the First English, 97–100
Commission, The High Court of, 207, 208
"Complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham," Sackville's, 238, 239
" — of Philomene," Gascoigne's, 261, 281, 282
" — of Scotland," The, 125–130
Confession of Faith, John Knox's, 186
Convocation, 323, 324
Cornysshe, William, 68, 69
Cota, Rodrigo, 84
Cotton, Sir Robert, 110, 111
Court, Plays at, 374, 384
"Courtier," Castiglione's, 303
Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire, 371, 372
"Courtly Makers" in the reign of Henry VIII., 49–70
Covenants, The Four, of Scottish Lords of the Congregation, 182, 184, 185
Coverdale, Miles, 121, 122, 325, 357
Cox, Dr., Bishop of Ely, 327
Cranmer, Thomas, 149, 153, 162, 163, 166, 201, 358
Croke, Dr. Richard, 15, 16
Curtain Theatre, The, 388
"Cytie of Cyvelete, The," 289, 290

D

"Damon and Pythias," R. Edwards's, 378–381
Darcy, Thomas Lord, 25
"Davie Dycar's Dream," 244, 245
Davison, Francis, 213
Day, John, printer, 196, 197, 203, 204, 205
"Decem Rationes," Campion's, 365
"Delicate Diet for Daintie-mouthed Droonkards," 283
Demosthenes, Translation from, 372
Dewes, Giles, 13
Dictionary, French, Palsgrave's, 11, 12

"Dido," Tragedy of, 377
Discipline, Knox's Book of, 337, 338*n*
Disguisings, 71
Dolce, Lodovico, 264*n*; translation of "Giocasta" from, 264, 265
Douglas, Gavin, 63, 221
Drama, Rise of the modern, 86—101, 373—385
Drayton, Michael, 28*n*, 111
"Droome of Doomesday, The," 282
Dugdale, Sir William, 111
"Dulce bellum inexpertis," 267—270
Dunbar's Dream of St. Francis in Latin by George Buchanan, 340, 341

E

Ecclesiastes, Part of, versified by Surrey, 70
Edwards, Richard, 213—216, 374, 378—381, 384
Elizabeth, Queen, 176—178, 325, 329, 332—334
"Enfants sans Souci," 75, 76
England, Harrison's Description of, 367
"England's Helicon," 213
Erasmus's Paraphrase, 153
Erizzo, Sebastiano, 290
Erskine, Alexander, 355
Etienne, Robert, 206
"Euphues," 301, 305—315
"— and his England," 315, 316
Euphuism, 316—322
Euripides, Translations from, 264, 265, 342
"Ezekias," Udall's, 101
"Ezzelin," Mussato's, 86, 87

F

Fabyan's Chronicle, 82
Fairholt, F. W., 79*n*
Fardyng, Thomas, 68
Farmer, Dr. Richard, 217*n*
Fenton, Geoffrey, 294, 295
Ferrers, George, 226, 240, 241
"Ferrex and Porrex," 228—236
Field, John, 328, 329, 330
"First Blast of the Trumpet," Knox's, 142, 179, 180, 338
First-English, Revived study of, 197
— — Gospels in, 205
Fitzgerald, Elizabeth, 26, 27
—, Gerald, 369
Fitz Roy, Henry, Duke of Richmond, 8, 9, 15—17, 19—21
Fleet Prison, Surrey in the, 30, 35
Flodden, 4
Fool in a Play, The, 377, 379—381
"Forrest of Fancie," H. C.'s, 296
"Four Elements," Interlude of the, 80, 81
"— P's," Interlude of the, 78, 79
Foxe, John, 158, 159, 203—205, 208
"Franciscanus," Buchanan's, 342
"Fratres Fraterrimi," George Buchanan's, 341
French Court, Surrey and Richmond boys at the, 16, 17
— Grammar and Dictionary, Palsgrave's, 10—12
— — and Dialogues by Giles Dewes, 13
— Influence on English Poetry, 55, 56
Frobisher's Voyage, 260
Fulke, William, 288
Fullonius, 14, 89—91
Furnivall, Dr. F. J., 10, 12

G

"Gammer Gurton's Needle," 382—384
Garcilasso de Vega, 54
Gardiner, Stephen, 46, 159, 167
"Garlande of Laurel," Skelton's, 1, 2.
Gascoigne, George, 216, 261—283
Gaza, Theodore, 11, 15
"Gentylness and Nobilitie," Interlude of, 83, 84
Geraldine, Surrey's, 26, 27
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 282, 402
Gilby, Anthony, 206
"Glass of Government," Gascoigne's 276, 277
Gnaphæus, 14, 89—91
"God's Promises," by John Bale, 82
Golding, Arthur, 222, 223
"Gorboduc," 228—236, 373
"Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions," 213, 217—219
Gospels, The Anglo-Saxon, 209
Gosson, Stephen, 390, 392
Gouvéa, André de, 342, 346
"Government of Vertue," Becon's, 152
Grafton, Richard, 357—359, 362, 363
Gray's Inn, Gascoigne's plays at, 263—265
Great Bible, The, 162
Greek, Teaching of, 15; pronunciation of, 160, 161
— plays, Translation of, 88, 264, 265
Greville, Fulke, 216, 395, 404
Grey, Lady Jane, 163. 302, 358
— of Wilton, Arthur Lord, 261, 266, 267, 278
"Grief of Joy," Gascoigne's, 283
"Grim the Collier, The Shaving of," 379, 380
Grimald, Nicholas, 51, 52, 213, 214
Grimthorpe Castle, Latimer at, 147, 148
Grindal, Edmund, 188, 332—334, 361—374
Grub Street, 205
Guazzo, Pettie's translation from, 297
Guest, Edmund, 197, 198
Guevara, Antonio de, 37, 38, 295, 321—322

Guevarism, 321
Guicciardini, Fenton's translation of, 295

H

Hadden, Walter, 194
Hall, Edward, 8, 71, 72, 74, 357
Hamilton, Patrick, 337
"Handful of Pleasant Delites," 213
"Harborowe for faithful subjects," 181
Harding, Thomas, 202, 204
Hardyng's Chronicle, 357, 359
Harlstone, Simon, 195
Harpsfield, John, 188
Harrison, William, 366—368
Harvey, Gabriel, 305, 391
Haslewood, Joseph, 217*n*, 293*n*
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 216, 222
Hearne, Thomas, 111
Heath, Nicholas, 188
"Hecatommithi," Cinthio's, 292, 293
"Hecuba," Seneca's, 220
"Heliconia," Park's, 218*n*
Hellowes, Edward, 295
"Hemetes the Hermit," 277
Henry VIII., Songs by, 67, 68
Hermann, Max, 97*n*
"Hero and Leander," Boscan's, 53
Herodotus, Translation from, 290
"Hey nony nony," 68
Heywood, John, 76—80, 219
—, Jasper, 216, 219—221
—, Ellis, 219
Higgins, John, 241
Hill, R., 216
History of the Reformation in Scotland, Knox's, 335—338
— —, Buchanan's, 351—353
Hoby, Sir Thomas, 303
Hoker, John, 97
Hollyband, Claudius, 292
Holinshed, Raphael, 73, 111, 363—369
Holywell, 23
Homilies, Book of, 151, 152, 313; Second Book of, 333
Hooper, John, 165, 166
Horsey, Edward, 34
Howard, Sir Edward, Admiral, 4
—, Catherine, Queen, 4, 27, 29, 30
—, Henry, Earl of Surrey, 1—3, 6—8, 16—31, 35, 36, 38—48, 51, 60—63; his family, 3—7, 22, 28, 203, 204
—, Thomas, Surrey's father, 4—7, 18, 20—22, 40, 44—48, 159
Huguenots, The, 396, 397, 399, 400
Humphreys, Dr. Lawrence, 208
"Hundreth Sundrie Flowers," Gascoigne's, 275
Hunnis, William, 215, 217
"Husbandrie, Five Hundreth Points of Good," 286
Hutton, Matthew, 327

I

"Image of Both Churches," Bale's, 113, 114
"Imber Aureus," 188
Induction, Sackville's, 237, 238
Inglis, Sir James, 127
Inn-yard, The play in the, 374—376, 387, 388, 389
Institutes, Calvin's, 145, 224
"Institution of a Christian Man," 162
Interludes, 74—82
"Iphigenia," a Court play, 385
Ireland, Stanyhurst's Description and History of, 365, 366
Italian influence, 2, 7, 8, 27, 52, 303, 304
— — on Spanish Literature, 52—54
— — on Portuguese Literature, 55
— — on French Literature, 55, 56
"Itinerary," Leland's, 106, 107, 111

J

Jacobs, Joseph, 293*n*
"Jack and Gill," a play, 384
James VI., of Scotland (afterwards I. of England), 335, 336; his education, 350, 355, 356
Jewel, John, 188, 198—202, 204
"Jephthes," Buchanan's, 342—344
"Jocasta," Gascoigne's, 264, 265, 384
Johnson, William, 385
Junius, Hadrianus, 39
—, Francis, 397, 398
"Jure Regni apud Scotos," Buchanan de, 350, 351
Justin's History translated, 222

K

Kelso burnt, 31
"Kenilworth, Princely Pleasures at," 277
"King of Scots, The," a play, 384, 385
Kinwelmarsh, Anthony, 217, 262
—, Francis, 215, 217, 262, 264, 265.
Knox, John, 132—136, 139—142, 159, 178—186, 335—338
"Kyng Johan," Bale's, 83, 116—120

L

"Lady Barbara" acted at Court, 385
"— of May," Sidney's, 403, 404
Laing, David, 125*n*
Lambarde, William, 111, 389
Landmann, Dr. Friedrich, 320—322
Landrecies, 38
Languet, Hubert, 401, 402
Lanham, John, 385
Latimer, Hugh, 146—149
Launay, 292
Latin Plays, 86—88, 91, 92, 94, 97, 101, 219—221, 342—346

Latin, Teaching of, Ascham on, 304
— verses, George Buchanan's, 349
Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 227, 361, 363, 365, 369, 373; his servants, actors, 225, 385
Leland, John, 102—112
"Letters of Saints and Martyrs," 325
Leyden, Dr. John, 127
Libraries, Destruction of, at the Reformation, 103, 103*n*
Linacre's Rudiments of Grammar translated by John Knox, 340
Lindsay, Sir David, 131, 134—138
Livy, Translation from, 289, 290
Lloyd, Ludowick, 216
Loftus, Adam, 326
London, Corporation of, against plays in the City, 386, 388
Londoners, Surrey's Satire on the, 36
Lord's Prayer, Latimer's Seven Sermons on the, 147, 148
"Love, The Play of," by John Heywood, 76, 77
Love Song by Henry VIII., 69
Lucy, Sir William, Charlcote, 158
"Lusiad, The," 55
"Lusus Ebriorum," 87
Luther, Martin, 131, 134
Lydgate, John, 239
Lyly, John, 305—322

M

Machiavelli, Comedies of, 89
"Magnificence," Skelton's, 2
Mair, John, 132
Mantuan, Baptista, 55: his Eclogues translated, 286
"Manuell of the Chronicles of England," Grafton's, 359
Margaret of Navarre, 290, 347
Marot, Clement, 55
Marriage marketing, 18, 20, 21
Martirano, Coriolano, 88
Martyr, Peter, 157, 198
Martyrs, Foxe's Book of, 159, 203—205
Mary Stuart, 31, 151, 348, 349
— Tudor, Henry VIII.'s sister, 10
— — — daughter, 13, 160, 177
Masques, 71—75
Matthew Paris, 210, 363
— of Westminster, 210, 363
Medici, Ippolito de', 61
"Meldrum, Squire," Lindsay's, 136
Mellin de Saint-Gelais, 55; Wyatt's translation from, 56, 57
Melvil, James, Memoirs, 354—356
— —, Diary, 352—353
"Menæchmi" of Plautus, 87
Metres, 54, 58, 59—62, 64—67, 262, 281, 282
Mill, Walter, 182
Miracle Plays under Queen Mary, 166, 225
Miranda, Saa de, 55
"Mirror for Magistrates," The, 236—241
"Misogonus," 376, 377
Misrule, The Lord of, 226, 241
Molza, Francesco Maria, 61
"Monarchie," Lindsay's, 136—138
"Monophylo," Fenton's, 294
Montaigne, 342
Montemayor, George of, 297
Montreuil, Siege of, 11, 39. 40
Morality Play, 81
Mount Surrey, 157
"Mowbray, Thomas," Churchyard's tragedy of, 247, 248
Mowbrays, The, 3
Murray, Dr. James A. H., 127, 129
Music, Old English love of, 67—69
Mussato, Albertino, 86, 87
Mystery Play, Foxe's, 159

N

"Narcissus" acted at Court, 385
Nash, Thomas, 28*n*
"Nature of the Four Elements," Interlude of the, 80, 81
"Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man," 162
Netherlands and Spain, 143, 144, 254—257, 397—399
—, English Volunteers in the, 256—258, 265—267, 271—274
Nevile, Alexander, 219
"New Year's Gift" to Henry VIII., Leland's, 102—105
Newton, Thomas, 220
Nichols, John Gough, 21*n*
Nonconformists, 189, 207, 208, 209, 324—332
Northbrook, John, 390
Norton, Thomas, 145, 223, 224, 228—236
Nott, Dr. George Frederick, 28*n*, 57*n*
Novels, The first, 293, 294
Nowell, Alexander, Dean of St. Paul's, 323, 324
Nuce, Thomas, 219

O

Ocland, Christopher, 270
Oldcastle, Sir John, Lord Cobham, 112
Opinion, Opposition of, 190—193
Oporinus, printer, 114*n*, 115, 159
"Orestes," a tragedy, 384
"Orfeo," Poliziano's, 87
"Orlando Furioso," 53
Ottava Rima, 54
Ovid's "Metamorphoses," translated by Golding, 222; "Heroical Epistles," translated by Turbervile, 286

P

"P's, The Four," Interlude of, 78, 79
"Painful Pilgrimage, The," a play, 384
Painter, William, 287—293
"Palace of Pleasure," Painter's, 289—293
"Palamon and Arcyte," R. Edwards's, [384
"Palinodes," George Buchanan's, 341
Palsgrave, John, 9—12, 14, 94—97
"Panfila," 87
Parabosco, Girolamo, 290
"Paradise of Dainty Devices, The," 213—217
Paraphrase, Erasmus's, 153
"Pardoner, The, and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratt," 78
"Paris and Viene," 385
Park, Thomas, 218n
Parker, Matthew, 193—197, 209—210, 363
Parsons, Robert, 365
"Pastime with Good Company," 69
Pastorals, 54, 55
"Pecorone," Ser Giovanni's, 292
Pedagogue and Preceptor, 303
Pembroke, Countess of, Mary Sidney, 403
Perkyn, John, 385
Petrarch, 87
Pettie, George, 295—297, 322
Phaer, Thomas, 221
Philip II. of Spain, 149, 150, 254—257
"Phœnix Nest, The," 213
"Piacevole Notte, Tredeci," Straparola's, 293
Pilgrimage of Grace, The, 24
Pinkie Cleugh, 128
Pistoja, Antonio da, 87
Plague and the Players, 386, 387
Plautus, Acting of, 87, 89, 92
Play, Definition of a, 381, 382
"Play of Love," 76, 77
"— of the Weather," 77, 78
Plays in Latin, 86—88
— at Court, 385
Players, 75, 80, 225, 385—388
Pliny's Natural History, Use of illustrations from, 320
Ploughers, Latimer's Sermon on the, 147
Plutarch, Translation from, 291; on Education, 312; on Exile, 315
Poets and Puritans, 390—393
"Poetical Rhapsody, A," 213
Poliziano's "Orfeo," 87
Pomponius Lætus, 87
Portugal, Buchanan in, 346, 347
"Posie," Gascoigne's, 275
Poulter's Measure, 67
Poynz, John, 33
Prayer Book, The, 207
Predestination, Knox on, 338, 339
Preston, Thomas, 377, 378
Priests' Marriages, Parker's Defence of, 196
Proctor, Thomas, 213, 218
"Prodigality," a play, 384
"Promos and Cassandra," Whetstone's, 284
Prophesying, 332—334
"Pronuntiatione Linguæ Græcæ," Cheke de, 160, 161
Proof corrections, Authors', 11
Psalms, The Penitential, paraphrased by Wyatt, 34, 70; versions of Ps. lxxii. and lxxxvii by Surrey, 70; Luther's versions, 121; Coverdale's, 121, 122; "Godlie Psalmes and Spiritual Sangis," 123, 124; Marot's, 122; Sternhold and Hopkins', 122, 123, 223; Matthew Parker's Psalter, 196; version in Book of Common Prayer, 198; Penitential by William Hunnis, 217; "De Profundis" by Gascoigne, 261, 262; whole Psalter in Latin verse by Buchanan, 347
Puritan Controversy, The, 324—334, 38
Pynson, Richard, 10, 11

Q

Queens, Knox on, 142, 179, 180
Quintus Curtius, Translation from, 291

R

Raleigh, Walter, 215, 399, 400, 401, 402
"Ralph Roister Doister," 97—100
Rastall, John, 81, 83—85
Reformation, The English, under Elizabeth, 186—189
—, The Scottish, 181—186; John Knox's History of, 335—338
Religious poetry, 70
"Resurrectione Mortuorum," John Clerke de, 7, 8, 54, 55
Retrospect, 170—175
Reuchlin's "Henno," 91
Revels, Master of the, 75, 373, 374, 385
Rhetorical prose in Elizabeth's reign, 316—320; Thomas Wilson's "Art of Retorique," 358
Rich, Barnabe, 216, 296
Ridley, Nicholas, 149
Rites and ceremonies of the Church, 323—325
Ritwyse, John, 97
Robinson, Clement, 213
Rochford, George, Lord, 4, 22, 23
"Rock of Regard," Whetstone's, 284, 296
Rogers, John, 163
Rojas, Fernando de, 85
"Romeo and Juliet," 287
Ronsard, Pierre de, 56
Rough, John, 133, 134
Roydon, Owen, 213, 218

"Rule of Reason," Thomas Wilson's, 358, 370
Rychardes, Thomas, 376

S

Saa de Miranda, 55
Sackford, Thomas, 369
Sackville, Sir Richard, 298, 299
—, Thomas, 224, 228—236, 237—239, 241
Saint Andrews, George Buchanan at, 340, 348, 350; Knox at, 353
Saint-Etienne, 43
Saint-Gelais, Mellin de, 55, 56
Saint Paul's (London), spire of, 376
Sampson, Thomas, 206, 208
Sandys, Edwin, 215
Sannazaro, Jacopo, 54
Saunders, Lawrence, 163, 164
Scenery in plays acted at Court, 385
"School of Abuse," Gosson's, 390—392
"Schoolmaster," Ascham's, 298—305
Schools, Latin plays acted in, 91, 92, 98, 99, 101
Scott, George, 356
Scottish Reformation, The, 181—189
"Scriptoribus Britannicis," Bale de, 106; Leland's Commentarii de, 111
Sedeno, Juan, 85
Seneca, Acting of, 88; plays of, translated, 219—221; "De Beneficiis" translated, 222
Septenar, The, 66
Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, 290
Serafino Cimino, 57, 58
Service Book of Edward VI., The first, 154; the second, 154, 155
Seymour, Edward, Hartford, Somerset, 25, 43, 45, 146
—, Queen Jane, 21, 25
Sheriff Hutton Castle, 1, 9, 10, 15, 16
"Shore's Wife," Churchyard's tragedy of, 247, 248—250
Sidney, Sir Henry, 369, 394, 395
—, Lady Mary, 294
—, Philip, 391—393, 394—404
Silva, Feliciano de, 85
Six Articles, Henry VIII.'s Act of the, 146
"— Fools," a play, 384
Skelton, John, 1, 2
Smith, Robert, 295
—, Sir Thomas, 160—162
"Sofonisba," 62, 88
"Somnium," George Buchanan's, from Dunbar, 340, 341
Song Book, Henry VIII.'s, 67—69
Sonnet, Introduction of the, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58—60, 70
Sorbonne, 294
Spain and the Netherlands, 143, 144, 254—257
Spanish influence on English Poetry, 53—55
Spenser, Edmund, 391
Stanyhurst, Richard, 364, 365, 366
Star Chamber, The, 208, 325
"Steel Glass," Gascoigne's, 278—281, 401
Steevens, George, 217*n*
Sternhold and Hopkins, 122, 123, 223
Still, John, 382, 383
Stockwood, John, 390
Stow, John, 111, 359—363
Strambotti, 57, 58
Straparola, Giovan Francesco, 290, 293
Strena Henrico Octavo, Leland's, 102, 104, 105
Strype, John, 361, 362
Studley, John, 219
"Summary of British Writers," Bale's, 113—115
"— — English Chronicles," Stow's, 359—361
Sunday, Plays on, 225, 385, 386
"Suppoſes, The," comedy from Ariosto, 263, 264, 384
"Suppositi, I," Ariosto's, 88, 263
Supremacy, Act of, 187, 188
Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of, 1—3, 6—8, 16—31, 35, 36, 38—48, 51, 60—63, 212, 213; his children, 158, 159
Szamatolski, Siegfried, 97

T

"Tale of Two Swans," 281
Terence, Acting of, 87, 89, 92; "Floures for Latin Speaking," from 98
Theatres, The first, 386—388
"Thersytes," an interlude, 85, 86
Thirty-nine Articles of Faith, The, 323
Thomas of Walsingham, 210, 363
Thorpe, William, Examination of, 112
Tilesio, Antonio, 88
Timone, 87
Topography of Ancient Britain, Leland's, 107
Tottel's Miscellany, 37, 51, 52, 212, 213
Tower, Surrey on a death in the, 23, 24
"Toxophilus," Ascham's, 168, 170
Tragedy, 82, 83; the first English, 228—236
Trissino, 62, 88, 89
"Troas," Seneca's, 220, 221
"Troly lo," 69
Tully's Offices, translated by Grimald, 214
Turbervile, George, 286, 287
Tusser, Thomas, 285, 286
Twelfth Night Masques, 73
Twyne, Thomas, 221

U

Udall, Nicholas, 98—101, 153, 157
"Ultimum Vale," Latimer's, 147

Uniformity of Service, Act of Edward VI. for, 154—157; Act of Elizabeth for, 189, 207
Urrea, Pedro de, 85
Ussher, Arnold, 366

V

Vautrollier, Thomas, 338n
Vaux, Thomas Lord, 215
Vega, Garcilasso de, 54
Vere, Edward, Earl of Oxford, 216, 222
Vergerio, Pier Paolo, 87
Vergil, Polydore, 119
Verses, Bible text first divided into, 206
"Versi sciolti," 61
Vestments in church service, Question of, 324—326
Vice, The, of the Morality, 377
Virgil's "Æneid," translated by Phaer and Twyne, 221
"Viris Illustribus, De," Leland's, 105
Vocacyon of John Bale, 114
Volder, Willem de, 14, 89—91
"Voyage into Holland," Gascoigne's, 266, 267

W

Walden Gratulations, Gabriel Harvey's, 404
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 396
Weather," Heywood's "Play of the, 77, 78
Wedderburn, John, 124, 125
—, Robert, 124—127
Weymouth, Dr. Richard F., 317—319
Whetstone, George, 283—285, 296
Whitchurch, Edward, 357, 358
Whitgift, John, 327—331, 334
Whitney, John, 304
Whittingham, William, 205
Wilcox, Thomas, 328, 329, 330, 389
William of Orange, 256, 257, 265, 269, 404
Willow Song, 218, 219
Wilson, Thomas, 358, 370-373, 389
Windsor, Surrey at, 17, 25, 26
Wishart, George, 132, 133
Wit and Folly, John Heywood's Dialogue of, 79
"— — Will," a play, 384
Wolfe, Reginald, 364
Wolsey, Thomas, 9; Churchyard's tragedy of, 250, 251; Cavendish's Life of, 251, 253
Writers, British, Bale's Summary of, 113—115
Wylson, Robert, player, 385
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 2, 31—34, 51, 54, 56, 57, 64, 111, 212, 213
— —, the younger, 34, 35, 150, 160

X

Xenophon, Tale from, 291

Y

Yloop, M., 216.
Young, Bartholomew, 297
—, Peter, 350, 355, 356

Z

Zoroas, Grimald's blank verse on the death of, 214
Zutphen, Thomas Churchyard at, 258

LAST LEAVES.

THIS volume ends at the year 1579, leaving only the record of Spenser to be brought to the same date in one more chapter, which will be the first of the next book. This next book will be of "Spenser and his Time"—of Spenser himself from birth to death, and of his time from the date of his first published work, "The Shepheard's Calendar," in 1579, with addition of the short interval between the death of Spenser and the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The bibliography deferred from this eighth volume will be given in the next, and be for the whole reign.

The other volume for 1892 will be of "Shakespeare and his Time"—of Shakespeare himself from birth to death, and of his time in the reign of James I. from 1603 to 1616. It will be divided into two books. One of them will be only of Shakespeare in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with brief references to his place in the surrounding literature, that will have been already described. The other book will treat of Shakespeare and his contemporaries under James I.

Since it agrees with the first design of this work that the study of Shakespeare should be in its tenth volume, and that the whole narrative should in that volume reach the date of Shakespeare's death, I may take courage now, perhaps, to show how the rest was planned.

It has been the main purpose of this history to set forth the literature of our country as part of its life, with constant indication of the relation of thought to action—that is to say, of literature to history. This could be done only by following, as closely as possible, the lives and labours of many men, from generation to generation, along the course

of time. In no other way could readers be enabled to see for themselves successive stages of the nation's growth, and learn that in the tale of the development of any people there is not less unity than in the story of a man.

The first volume of this record, dealing with origins, glanced over a long stretch of remote time, and sought to connect literature with life before the introduction of Christianity by dwelling upon the old poem of Beowulf. The second volume dealt with Anglo-Saxon literature and traced generation after generation through some centuries before the Norman Conquest. The third volume, from 1066 to 1300, covered in like manner a period of some two hundred and twenty years. Then there were two volumes given to the century that contained Chaucer, and one volume was given to the fifteenth century. Days of a fuller literature were thus reached, and the seventh volume carried on the narrative from 1500 to 1540, only ten years more than are reckoned as the lifetime of one generation, and well within the lifetime of one man. The present volume also takes a period of about forty years.

Spenser and Shakespeare will require much space. The advance, therefore, in the next two volumes will be only from 1579 to 1616—in the two volumes thirty-seven years. Each of the remaining volumes will then be confined as nearly as may be to the lifetime of a single generation.

The eleventh and twelfth volumes, which will be the volumes for 1893, if health and life remain to me, are designed to cover the time from the death of Shakespeare to the death of Milton. The eleventh—"Shakespeare to Milton."—will be a history of literature for the twenty-nine years from 1616 to the battle of Naseby, and the publication, in 1645, of the first volume of poems by John Milton. The twelfth volume, also covering twenty-nine years, will treat of "Milton and his Time," from 1645 till Milton's death in 1674.

Of the two volumes for 1894, one, the thirteenth, will cover the time of the English Revolution. It will describe the literature of the twenty-eight years from the death of Milton to the accession of Queen Anne. The other volume on the reigns of Anne and George I., is designed to end with the year of that king's death in 1727, and cover twenty-five years, so allowing room for what adjustments may be necessary to bring all up to that date.

The fifteenth volume is planned to record the literature of the reign of George II., being the thirty-three years between 1727 and 1760. The sixteenth volume will take the period of twenty-nine years from the accession of George III. to the French Revolution, 1760 to 1789, and those should be the two volumes for 1895.

The seventeenth and eighteenth volumes have been planned to take the period of sixty-one years from the French Revolution to the death of Wordsworth in 1850. These, carrying on the design of giving, as nearly as possible, successive volumes to successive generations, should be the two volumes for 1896.

Then there will remain two volumes for the description of our literature in the second half of the nineteenth century.

That was the plan laid down from the beginning, subject, of course, here and there, to readjustment in the working; subject also to such hap as may befall the best-laid schemes of mice and men.

The German Universities have lost their soundest English scholar. On Friday, the twenty-ninth of January, Bernhard ten Brink died, after a few days of great suffering, from poison by the use of an unsafe cooking vessel. He was slowly crowning his life's work with a History of English Literature that, although now left a fragment, neither Englishman nor German will ever cease to value. We sorrow

for the loss of a strong man from the little field which is to some a happy playground, but to Prof. ten Brink was a place of labour where each furrow ploughed gave hope of harvest for the future.

Bernhard Egidius Conrad ten Brink was born at Amsterdam on the twelfth of January, 1841. After studying at Düsseldorf, Essen, and Münster, he went to the University of Bonn, where he worked under Diez, and took his degree of Doctor in 1865 with a thesis on the history of Franco-Gallic Metres. He became Privat-Docent of Philology in the Academy of Münster, then Professor at Marburg, and obtained in 1873 the Professorship at Strasburg which he held until his death. The first part of Prof. ten Brink's Chaucer Studies appeared in 1870, his book on Chaucer's Language and Versification in 1884. The first volume of his History of English Literature was published in 1877. The first half of the second volume followed in 1889. This included Gower and Chaucer, and reached to the middle of the fifteenth century. The other half of the second volume, bringing the History to the accession of Elizabeth, was then announced as ready to follow immediately, and no doubt is all written, though it has not yet appeared. Prof. ten Brink was also joined with other scholars in editing the valuable series of monographs known as "Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Cultur-Geschichte der Germanischen Völker," and is the only one of them who has been occupied with the management of that series from the first. He died only four days before the date named for his daughter's marriage.

H. M.

Carisbrooke, February, 1892.

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